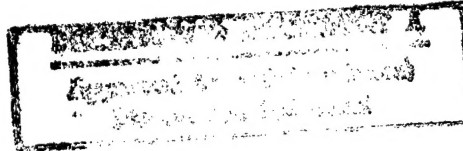


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JPRS 81869

28 September 1982



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2060

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CUBAN MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS ARRIVES--CSSR Deputy Premier R. Rohlicek received the Cuban Minister of Communications P. Guelmes Gonzales on 15 September. Also attending the meeting were the CSSR Minister of Communications V. Chalupa and the Cuban Ambassador to Prague S. Ramos Palacios. [Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech 16 Sep 82 p 6]

CSO: 2400/375

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BORDER TROOP STRUCTURE CHANGES, INDOCTRINATION METHODS REPORTED

Border Troop Structure Changes

Bonn DIE WELT in German 12 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by J.M. Svoboda, Munich: "East Berlin Changes Structure of Border Troops--They Get Weapon Systems Like Regular Army Divisions"]

[Text] The GDR is restructuring its border troops along the inner-German demarcation line and the Berlin ring. The force numbering 50,000 men, which until now had primarily the character of border guard infantry units combined with reconnaissance tasks, is being converted into active divisions for the first wave of a possible attack. Says Minister of Defense General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann: "The border troops are the military guards of the GDR."

The border regiments are being restructured into motorized infantry divisions. Preparations initiated in the fourth quarter of 1979 are now being put into practice: training of extended-service soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers with combat tanks of the Soviet T-54/55 class, with missiles, artillery, heavy engineer equipment and in helicopter squadrons.

These motorized infantry divisions at the border are being equipped with weapon systems like those of the regular army divisions of the National People's Army (NVA) and are organized per division as follows: the combat component itself consists of three motorized infantry regiments (MSRGT), with 95 armored vehicles and an independent tank battalion with 51 combat tanks.

As we understand the task of border guard units, this configuration does no longer conform to the concept of "border troops," but indicates a change in military strategy. The military mission of East Berlin within the Warsaw Pact becomes even more obvious in view of the structure of the combat support units of the combat troops of a motorized infantry division. They include:

- an armored reconnaissance battalion;
- an antitank battalion, equipped with antitank cannon;

- an artillery regiment, divided into two battalions with towed howitzers and one battalion with armored howitzers on tracked vehicles;
- one battalion of BM 29 field missile launchers;
- one battalion of FROG artillery missiles suitable for carrying nuclear warheads;
- one regiment with 20 SA-6 anti-aircraft missiles;
- one engineer battalion with five companies equipped with amphibious vehicles, bridges, engineer, minelaying and mine removal armored vehicles, and ferries. In addition there is a battalion for defense against ABC warfare, a signal battalion, helicopter squadron and a transport unit.

In addition, the GDR border troops have for the last 2 months had an undetermined number of Soviet HIND-class combat helicopters. Soviet liaison officers are now on duty with the border divisions as well as in the NVA's army divisions all the way down to battalion level. Until recently, liaison officers were assigned no lower than division level.

#### Hate Propaganda Against Western Soldiers

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 13 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara, staff writer: "Hate Propaganda Against Western Allied Soldiers: The 'Enemy Image' for the GDR Border Troops--West Berlin and NATO Strategy"]

[Text] Within the GDR border troop companies surrounding West Berlin some strange stories are still being told about certain "events" on the border prior to the construction of the Wall. The story has for instance been handed down that during the period of the open border GDR border patrol men occasionally "marched" into the then West-Berlin exclave of Steinstuecken --certainly with peaceful intentions and of course unofficially--to have a drink with U.S. GIs in bars close to the border. Even though such occurrences were not the rule, they did take place, according to oldtimers among the border troops.

For young border soldiers, born after 13 August 1961, who are nowadays guarding the border, such reports defy credibility. To them, allied soldiers are described already during their 6-month basic training in special regiments as dangerous opponents, capable of anything. At this particular time the East Berlin border troop leadership is trying to enhance the border troops' "enemy image" in that direction and not to tolerate "any illusion about the mentality of contempt for humanity" of the "elite units" stationed in West Berlin. These efforts are combined with attempts to falsify the Western allies' status in Berlin.

New training guidelines for depicting the enemy to the border troops state in this context that the border guard who is fulfilling his "class mission" along the border with West Berlin must be aware what "political and military objectives the U.S., British and French occupation troops are pursuing within the special political West Berlin entity." The instructors

are then told that units of the Western allies entered the Western sectors of Berlin in early July 1945 according to treaty, "to participate in the occupation and military government of the former fascist 'Reich capital,'" but that the "highest authority for all of Berlin had reposed in the hands of the Soviet commander "in what was then the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany."

However, it is added that "the right to participate in the administration," which according to the "agreement about the control procedure in Germany" of 14 November 1944, which "had been granted only verbally...during the early stage of the occupation of Germany which immediately followed the capitulation," had "long since legally expired." It had in fact expired 34 years ago, in 1948, when "the Western powers, in complicity with the German imperialists, had violated the resolutions of the Potsdam Agreement: and had destroyed the allied control council as well as the allied city command, which were charged with the joint military administration of all of Berlin.

During the following years, they go on to say, West Berlin had been accorded "a role in the concept of NATO strategy." Since then, the occupation forces of the United States, Great Britain and France in West Berlin have had "the function of protecting the capitalist system in that political entity and from that base to conduct military and secret service reconnaissance." To ensure "in case of need" a tactically coordinated line of action among the three occupying powers, there exists an "Allied Command," which "in effect exercises the function of a military government for West Berlin," as well as an "allied staff" for planning, organizing and coordinating of military activities.

The training guidelines paint the members of allied troops as veritable fiends. They are said to be "especially carefully selected bourgeois loyalist cadres and without exception anti-communist manipulated mercenaries, trained to hate all progressive movements in the world, especially to be enemies of the socialist states and their armed forces." Besides, they are said to be "trained in torture and drilled for murder." Their superiors are described as "experienced in genocide," "people with experience in combat and killing from their murderous battles against the people of Korea, Vietnam, Ireland as well as Central and South America --against all those who fight for their freedom."

The guidelines continue to the effect that those allied soldiers are stationed in West Berlin "who are not 'susceptible' to democratic ideas and, being loyal bourgeois serfs, execute any and all orders of their imperialist overlords." They are not interested in justice or injustice, where the ruthless enforcement of "imperialist interests" is concerned. Evidently this intensified enemy propaganda against the Western allies is designed to motivate the border troops for their service, which many among them consider depressing.

9273

CSO: 2300/398

CURRENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS EXAMINED, EXPLAINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8 Aug 82 pp 31-35

[Article by Marton Buza, Director of TU Theoretical Research Institute:  
"On the Social Role of the Trade Unions"]

[Text] Applying Lenin's teachings to the current Hungarian conditions and drawing on its own historical experiences, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has recognized that by ensuring the trade unions' independence and by allowing them to participate in policy making, the party has been able to increase its contact with the masses and has enabled millions of trade-union members outside the party to gain a better understanding of its policies and thus encourage them to take a more active role in its implementation.

The place and role of the trade unions are determined by their commitment to the rule of the working class. The fact that we have a common social goal has enabled us to ensure party control over trade-union activities by relying on the persuasive work of the communists belonging to them. This is in full accordance with the interest-safeguarding and corporate functions of the trade unions.

This is the basic reason why our trade unions have become an increasingly important factor in our political, economic and cultural life. Their work is fulfilling a real social need and is incessantly living up to the expectations of the membership. The trade-union movement--by virtue of its place and role in society--must be able to lend its unique point of view to examining and judging virtually every question of our economic, social and cultural life, just as it must be prepared to take a stand and make an impact on them.

In order for our trade unions to be able to take an independent and responsible stand on social-policy, among them economic-policy issues, and in evaluating the recommendations of our state organs:

1. They need to thoroughly understand the needs, views, the situation and interests of their organized workers and to use this understanding to critically examine and weigh the advantages and drawbacks of those recommendations.

2. In preparing their own recommendations--and occasionally even their own plans and comprehensive ideas--our leading trade-union organs must work in harmony with our social and economic laws and in accordance with our party's policy.

3. They must be adequately prepared to represent these recommendations before their membership as well as before our party and state organs.

4. Every position, action and unique point of view taken by our trade unions must be characterized by a commitment to represent and protect the diverse interests of their membership.

Overall--although naturally not without any mistakes or problems--the Hungarian trade-union movement has succeeded in establishing these necessary conditions, and has successfully fulfilled its tasks, congressional goals and the needs of its members. By doing so it has enhanced the fairness of our party's policy and has helped to strengthen the rule of the working class, which is precisely why our country--and thus our trade union movement--has enjoyed such great respect.

The place and role of our trade unions and their relationship with our party and state are unambiguously spelled out. While the constant elements of our party's policy have remained intact, the movement has been put in a new position, partly because of the new tasks it now has to face in view of our changed domestic social and economic conditions, and partly as a result of the significant changes that have occurred on the international scene.

We are all aware of the fact that our economy needs to be more intensive and more effective, and that we must improve its elasticity. In order to achieve this, however, we must solve a multitude of complex tasks. To enhance this effort it is absolutely necessary that we review the unique array of means available to our trade unions, introduce new ones while eliminating those which are old and obsolete. For example, we must reexamine those trade-union instruments which can improve management, we must expand work competition, we must find new forms for carrying out qualitative tasks, such as: improving efficiency, reducing costs and increasing profitable exports. This work is presently under way and we have already achieved certain partial results. In continuing the reform of our economic management we have placed great emphasis on enterprise activities in an effort to improve management and to strengthen socialist attitudes toward work.

In the course of their efforts to safeguard and represent their workers' interests our trade unions have had to face new circumstances. Different methods can and must be used, for example, to safeguard our workers' interests when their standard of living is steadily rising, and still different steps are needed when safeguarding those interests is contingent upon our ability to maintain the existing standard of living. Under the present circumstances this is obviously more difficult and more complex than it was before. It also requires us, among other things, to try to find new ways of coordinating and integrating our interests. For example, while we will never abandon our system's great achievements, such as our commitment to

maintaining full employment, we will try to win acceptance for, and implement in practice the idea that ensuring this is not an enterprise obligation but rather a task for society as a whole. Consequently, the task of safeguarding our workers' interests has become more perplexed. We have to face up to the fact, that in certain areas and professions we have simultaneous shortages and surpluses of manpower. What this means, among other things, is that some of our available manpower will have to be relocated primarily in the sphere of services. We have had to examine and seek out those areas of activity where production can be increased because of their efficient export potentials, or because their demand for imported materials is so small and they have a favorable domestic market.

Changing jobs and professions, of course, may present serious problems for some people and certain groups and it may even demand some sacrifices from many. This is another area where the trade-union movement can play a role, among other things by providing more favorable conditions for retraining and extension training and by exploring the various possibilities of relocation. It is conceivable, for example, to achieve effective employment without necessarily having to transfer workers to new jobs by introducing more efficient, more profitable and more export-oriented work methods, and by replacing old products with new ones that are newer and better in quality, all within the same enterprise.

Making the safeguarding and representation of our workers' interests more efficient is something that must be attained primarily on the job. The continued development of our system of economic management, the refocusing of our planning and the growth of enterprise independence all point to this. Under the present circumstances our employers, primarily our enterprises, must assume greater responsibility in ensuring that wages and incomes develop proportionately with the amount of work performed. As our circumstances become more difficult we can also expect more job-related conflicts. This by itself is a warning that we must increase our society's and our employers' conflict-tolerating capacity. This is what the 24th congress of the trade unions was referring to when it pointed out: "The trade unions' task is to promote the attainment of our common social goals by providing forward-looking solutions to conflicts of diverse interests. Our trade-union organs must possess the necessary courage to provide forums and organize open discussions with workers for comparing interests of various levels."\*

There are many who question and dispute the present role and significance of this interest-safeguarding function. Some feel that the movement is incapable of carrying out this task. Others believe that under the present difficult circumstances it can be deemphasized since the possibilities for fulfilling demands have become limited. These and similar views reflect a mistaken perception of what interest-safeguarding means, hence we must strive to refute them. It must be clearly understood that safeguarding our workers' interests is a continuous process and that there are no special times when

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\*The 24th Congress of the Hungarian Trade Unions, Tancsics Publishers 1981 pp 19-20

this process could even temporarily be suspended. When the safeguarding of these interests fails to meet the required standard it generates discontent among the members and it also tends to hinder and retard participation by the masses in solving our tasks. Realistic interest-safeguarding efforts aimed at promoting social justice, on the other hand, help to strengthen the positions of workers' rule, the relationship between our party and the masses as well as our people's consciousness. In fact, this is the very reason why we must continue to improve the quality of our interest-safeguarding efforts. Right now--since it has never been a part of trade-union work--there is a special need for greater effectiveness in analyzing, exploring and publicising the conflicting interests of our various groups and strata. In order, however, to take a step forward we must continue to expand trade-union and enterprise democracy.

What gives our trade-union democracy such special significance is that in addition to being the operators of the institutional system of our factory democracy, they are also the corporate organs of our entire working collective. The organizational framework of our trade unions allows them to take steps, within the limits of democracy, to safeguard their workers' interests, to promote open debates, to encourage exchanges of ideas, to ensure democratic voting procedures and to allow them to make, or have a say in the making of decisions.

The domains of enterprise democracy, namely the trade-union group conferences, membership meetings and representative bodies are forums where the practice of trade-union and factory democracy coincides. This is why there are often some who mistakenly feel that there is no difference between the two. In addition to a certain degree of overlapping there are also some differences, mainly in that while the development of factory democracy is the joint responsibility of our factory economic managers and trade-union organs, trade-union democracy affects mainly the operational and organizational system of the trade unions.

The link between trade-union democracy and factory democracy is the premise that the best way to ensure worker participation, involvement and social control over them is by discussing the problems affecting them in their respective trade-union groups. This is where their various interests, demands, ambitions, conflicting views, attitudes and behavior forms come to the surface. The most direct way for the leading trade-union bodies to gain an understanding of their workers' interests, intentions and behavior forms is through their stewards, by promoting voluntarism and open polemics and by encouraging participation by those who are the most closely affected. The steward and their trade-union groups discuss such matters as the enterprise plan, the main questions regarding their enterprise's wage policy, their social plans and collective contracts. However, participation in the conduct of economic management and involvement in the local implementation of policy--the next steps in this process--can only take place at production conferences, department and brigade meetings and at other forums of our enterprise democracy.

The reconciliation of interests begins on the trade-union group level. So far, however, the quality of these efforts has been extremely inconsistent. Despite all the developments that have taken place, the most characteristic manifestation of a union steward's representative capacity is still the fact that he represents the--by now majority-approved--interests of the members of his group by interceding and voting on their behalf at joint conferences. Today this representative capacity still has not universally developed to the point where the stewards could judge already at the group level what the true interests are at any given time or place. In other words, to the point where the stewards could judge already at the group level what the true interests are at any given time or place. In other words, to the point where they could reject unfounded and imaginary interests, excesses and demands which cannot be fulfilled due to a lack of resources. It may be evident from all this, that their task is not merely to bring to the surface and represent new needs, but to represent interests which have been determined to be realistic.

By offering explanations, arguments and by demonstrating the various relationships involved they must, therefore, try to suppress all wish-level demands before they can leave the group. This is a difficult and complex task, but we must reach the point where most of our stewards will be prepared to solve it. The steward, therefore, is a key official in the trade-union movement; without him the trade-union movement would not be able to remain in direct daily contact with its membership, nor could it enforce the central resolutions and positions decided on in the interest of its members.

The trade unions, through their corporate organs, are working to ensure their workers a role in management and to represent and safeguard their interests. In our country, on the factory, enterprise and institution levels this function is performed by representative bodies, or in areas where such bodies do not exist by the trade-union membership meetings. The activities of our trade-union corporate bodies can only be democratic and effective if they take into account the opinions of the lower-echelon trade-union organs and stewards and of their membership as a whole. We must establish the right conditions to allow their attitudes to reflect the corporate will as well as the will of the collective. So far we have not always been successful. Our efforts have been hindered by several factors, but mainly by our ineffective work style. Our corporate organs, for example, often find themselves in situations where the economic manager in charge asks for their opinion, and sometimes even their concurrence and participation regarding a plan he has prepared. This, however, in most cases is only a formality since, for example, he usually does not allow sufficient time for them to formulate a definitive and well-weighed opinion. On the other hand, there is a legitimate need for greater activity at the meetings of our representative bodies. This, however, can only be expected in places which offer real opportunities to select from several possible solutions, provided that the possibilities discussed by the body are still open for debate, and that the selection is not restricted by an earlier decision of the party organization, the trade-union committee or the economic management which had already closed the matter formalizing both the debate and the opinion.

Another problem we have encountered in our continued effort to improve trade-union and factory democracy is that we have placed too much burden on our representative bodies, for example by talking too much about the centrally prescribed agenda. Hence, they do not enjoy enough independence to examine their own specific problems and tasks. Although these representative bodies' corporate function pertains not just to factory democracy but also to trade-union democracy, they hardly ever discuss agenda which concern the trade unions' internal democracy. Nor is it entirely clear what the relationship between the representative body and the trade-union committee entails. From the "outside" the economic, and in a number of places the party leadership would prefer it if the decisions were made in the trade-union committees rather than in the representative body. They would like the trade-union committees to exercise these rights because they consider them "easier", and from the point of view of time, faster partners.

As one of the conditions of ensuring the further development of democracy, we must strengthen the willingness and the ability of our trade-union officials to recognize in time the problems facing their members and to work with them to find the quickest and most effective solution. The members do not ask or demand that we solve all their problems immediately as they arise. They do demand and expect, however, that we take note of their problems, that we sincerely and openly respond to them and that we make an effort to solve them.

It is also important that our trade-union members gain a better understanding of the things that are being done for them and in their name by the trade-union organs and activists. For only this will make them feel that the trade unions are theirs and theirs alone. Just how well informed they are in this regard depends a great deal on the extend of public discussion. While we have made significant strides in publicising trade-union work, one of our main problems continues to be the fact that it is inadequate and that it does not pertain to all levels. The way to solve this is by taking greater advantage of our existing opportunities, but also by searching for new forms. Another legitimate demand is to give greater publicity than what we are giving now to the corporate sessions of the National Council of Trade Unions, its Presidium and Secretariat and of its leading professional bodies and basic organizations.

The further development of the trade-union movement requires a greater degree of socialization. For this it is essential to have well-prepared concepts as well as and effective and clearly designed system of information. What is needed is less paperwork and "self-agitation" and more high-quality trade-union work, so that both the members and the office-holders can feel that their work, their opinions and experiences are indeed needed. The basic principle which we must all keep in mind is that the primary obligation of each leading trade-union organ and office-holder is to their respective memberships.

"One of the areas where we have made some important progress--pointed out the resolution of the 24th congress of our trade unions--is in improving the

quality of work at the local organization level. We have adjusted their organizational make-up to better reflect our present needs and increased requirements. Our main task for the coming period is to strengthen this--representation-based--organizational system; to establish a close relationship between management and implementation, and between our leading bodies and the members."

The development of our society, including our economy, the changes that have occurred in our social and economic management have made it essential for us to rethink the administrative system of the Hungarian trade-union movement, and to adjust it to the changing requirements. Based on the resolution of the 24th congress, this matter was thoroughly and profoundly examined at the April 1981 session of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]. It was concluded that we must relax the overcentralization of the movement's administration, increase the independence of our branch and professional organizations and better coordinate the activities of our various professions and regional organs, such as the SZMK's [Trade Union Associations], megye professional committees and intertrade committees. Our main task, however, continues to be to ensure the independence of our basic organizations and to improve the quality of the activities of our trade-union bodies and functionaries. This is because the only true measure of either the SZOT's or the professions' activities is the quality of work at the basic organization level.

The achievements of the Hungarian trade-union movement have been clearly appreciable; it has basically done what it has had to given our socialist conditions. It has dealt with questions which have had an effect on its members as well as on social development. However, we have no reason to feel conceited. During the coming years we will be called upon to solve tasks which will require great effort on our part.

9379

CSO: 2500/380

LITERARY TRENDS, POSITION OF WRITERS' CLUB DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 20 Aug 82 p 7

[Interview with Akos Szilagyi, secretary of the Attila Jozsef Circle, by Janos Szeky; no date or place given]

[Text] Two years have passed since the debates conducted in the ELETUNK of Szombathely and in ELET ES IRODALOM shed light on the generational contradictions of Hungarian literature and literary life. It was also shown that these conflicts could be examined only in context of their broader social relations. Last year's suspension in the operations of the FIJAK (Young Writer's Attila Jozsef Circle) caused a reaction in more than the professional circle; within several months the class organization of beginning writers was reorganized under the name of JAK (Attila Jozsef Circle). The secretary of the Circle since the crisis as before is Akos Szilagyi, poet, aesthetician, and literary historian. We asked him what JAK represents.

[Question] One of the goals of the Circle--according to the new operational statutes--is "to promote a convergence, an intellectual dialogue between the generations of writers. How can we define in this case the expression "generation;" and if it is necessary to converge, what does the distance between the generations include?

[Answer] We must differentiate between the concept of "generation" (generacio) in the meaning of the time of life and of "generation" (nemzedek) in the social meaning. Not every lifetime generation is given the chance to organize itself into a social generation in literature, politics or in society as a whole. For long the institutional conditions did not exist for lifetime generations to organize into social generations, and in fact the intellectual conditions did not exist either. I have already said elsewhere that in the 1970's a certain compromise, in my view, was established between the individual writer and state cultural policy--the individual writer is free and creates what he wants. What signifies in the 1970's the appearance of the new social generation, the new groups of problems which it mediated, and the new task is nothing more than that this compromise must now be redefined and reshaped. Thus on the basis not of assuring freedom to the individual writer but to literary trends, social generations and groupings. If we look at the institutionalized forms, this can be observed above all in the entire intellectuality of the MOZGO VILAG periodical; and continuously, if in lesser

form, in the activity of the JAK, with its internal changes. One is a form of literary publicity and the other of literary organization and institution. There is only one of both (which is characteristic of our institutional structure) and we must solve the tasks in such a way that it will try to represent within itself its own actually pluralistic literary ideals.

[Question] But still, what kind of literary-intellectual "claim" does this lifetime generation have to demand a new institutional, cultural political framework in order to organize into a social generation. And if perhaps it can already be regarded as a social generation, how does it differ from the earlier one?

[Answer] As I see it, the poetic-genre hierarchy of Hungarian literature has changed. Lyrical poetry has been forced into the periphery, and in the 1970's prose occupied the most important literary positions. This new flowering of Hungarian prose is defined by the new prose-writing social generation. This does not mean to say that the older or the middle-aged social generation does not create anything worthwhile, but rather that the works of the younger social generation also determine the work of the older. For example, I am thinking of the outlook which brings us closer to the fifties. In the new prose there is a certain kind of self-searching, and in fact a concrete historical self-searching, and this assumes for the individual the independence of the viewpoint of thinking, writing and observation, assumes a reference system that is broader than national history, namely, that we should start to think in East Central Europe. The strength of the new social generation is shown by the fact that in the 1970's, for example, its vanguard was changing every year, that is, it not only "uses up" its momentary vanguard but is able to create a stronger one in its place. And this social generation has also proved capable of rechoosing traditions. In general, it can be observed that any kind of new social generation is linked to the periphery of the preceding one. In the prose of the 1970's which did not as genre play a central role, we may name the prevailing voice as "moralistic" (here we include Ferenc Santa, Endre Fejes, and to a certain extent, with a unique nuance, Miklos Meszoly). But the new prose goes back through Ottlik and to a small extent Meszoly to the Nyugat (Western) social generation, in fact all the way to Kalman Mikszath and Zsigmond Kemeny.

[Question] In one of your essays you ascribe the traditionally central role of lyric poetry to the characteristics of national existence and a distorted national development. Somewhere else you write of the necessary withering away of the lyrical genre. What kind of changes have now brought on the rise of prose?

[Answer] I do not think the reflowering of the epic is related to the death of lyric poetry, to put it more exactly, the "ruin" of thus far leading voice of the lyric genre does not mean that lyric poetry is dead. Rather it means that a poetic voice is starting to take form in lyric poetry alien to the role which prevailing until now represents the whole national existence, the national literature. In fact the achievements of lyric poetry of the 1970's are sometimes of a higher level than those of the 1960's. The difference is that they were born not in a leading genre but one that has been forced into

the background and is rather a subordinate genre. In the past 10 years the decisive turn has been brought on and the rise of prose has been made possible in the end by the fact that to put it in a figurative way, the achievement of a middle class status by Hungarian society has begun. That is, society became more and more segmented and the various social spheres of life moved farther apart. Of course, this was an odd achievement of middle class status because it meant that in every sphere of life the individual was free as a private person, or more free than before, but in the actual sphere of public life these freedoms did not as yet make their appearance.

[Question] The present condition, organization and operation of JAK in itself shows that there is no gap as yet between the private sphere and public life, or if we accept that there is, it is in any event one that can be bridged.

[Answer] Here we succeeded in carrying out a reform which actually means the development of the intermediary sphere, that is to say, similarly to what has happened, for example, in the economy, certain social efforts or a certain segmenting of literature have begun to form and be institutionalized, although within the given institutional frame. Whatever has been created since the latest reorganization of JAK is rather new both in respect to the mode of the compromise and its results. I believe that since the latest assembly, a similar change is being undergone in the Writers' Federation, and I see as such also the manner in which last year's MOZGO VILAG crisis was solved. State control recognizes the autonomous interest-representation and interest-implementation rights of these organizations. It accepts them as partners, it accepts that they do not embody some kind of abstract and general interest, that is, not the same interest which the state organs and organizations embody and they must always respect the interests and the logic of the other party and strive for a rational dialogue, partnerlike relations, and compromises.

[Question] To establish such a relation, both sides must have patience.

[Answer] The readiness to compromise must develop on both sides at the same time, and that is why I regard it as a model in all three instances that it did in fact develop. If at the time of the suspension we had replied with a policy of venting grievances to the initiatives of the state organs and we had rejected the possibilities of compromise and were inclined to make heroic gestures, there would have been no agreement. Anyway, it is not as if someone had contrived "from above" at that time: Let there be a Young Writers' Circle; rather the pressure exerted by generations of writers for years and even for decades was realized. Actually they pressured for themselves this institutional form within the Writers' Federation. I do not think that last year's suspension was entirely a mistake but a characteristic mode of solving a conflict situation. The fact that instead of dialogue and partnerlike relations it put an end to the life form of conflicts has not put an end to the contradictions; these have only been constrained into the underground of literary life and become completely uncontrollable and not subject to rationalization. Nor was the cancellation of the suspension some kind of lordly act of mercy, but a certain type of solution for the unsolved conflict situation which is in harmony with the efforts of a reform policy that has

lasted several years in the belief that the reform cannot stop at the boundaries of the economic sphere.

[Question] Besides the fact that the juniorizing possessive attribute was eliminated, what did JAK gain from the compromise?

[Answer] First of all, it fits differently into the Writer's Federation. The "relative autonomy"--emphasized also in the operational regulations but which was formerly lacking--is manifested in the fact that the Circle is not directly subordinated to the secretariat of the Writer's Federation but to the committee representing the general assembly between the two general assemblies, and though we continuously hold consultations on substantive matters with the secretariat we can appeal any decision to the committee. This is not only a democratic ceremony but also a guarantee because there is rarely an appeal; thus the democratic guarantee itself is an incentive to the secretariat to consider carefully how and to what extent it participates in directing the affairs of the Circle. Since we are operating under the new conditions, our relations with the secretariat are much more correct than before, and dispense with all nuances of patriarchal affectation. We are a class organization within the Writers' Federation, and therefore we represent other interests as well, and the working style is now characterized by a mutually recognized sovereign representation of interests. In this way, the election of the officers in the Circle has become democratic.

[Question] Besides the formal-organizational changes, what has the leadership of the Circle achieved? All in all, what does one gain if he becomes or remains a member of the Circle?

[Answer] We have a modest, internal scholarship which every beginner among the members of the Circle may receive for a period of three months at the most. The other important innovation is a new serial publication which will appear under the management of the Magveto Kiado (for this we also needed the support and publicity of Magveto). The actual editorial work is done by our representatives elected at the membership assembly of the Circle. The publisher exercises exclusively political publication, the elected editors do not represent the guild interests of the Circle but the entire new social generation in literature, that is, the right to publish in the series does not belong only to the members of JAK. The series unifies in itself certain features in independent books and journal type publications. It is our goal that the works should appear in their organic literary relationship, and therefore we give as much space to theory as to belleslettres in order that theory should not hover "over the head" of this genre. The series will seek to outline the fault lines which exist among the social generations. With the new operational statutes, such material institutional conditions of relative autonomy were created as an independent budget or one which can be distinguished within the Writers' Federation. As for internal publicity, we have a forum which holds a literary evening or discussion every week. In the past half year we set up a social committee which deals with the interest representation of the Circle's members. Most of the members of the Zsigmond Moricz Scholarship Committee are JAK members, and for the most part

applications are sent to us. We are planning to hold the autumn meeting in Pecs (Workers in literary works, and literary works among workers), and take a visit to the Carpathian Ukraine.

[Question] Will someone become a better writer if he is the member of a well-operating, live literary organization? To put it more exactly, does the Circle offer, or does it seek to offer, some kind of professional plus to the beginning writer?

[Answer] Professional work in the case of writers is no more than the continuous process of professional and moral improvement. That is to say, constant learning, and this cannot be institutionalized. An organization, an institution can help in publishing a writer's works and in seeing that the works are not only published but live and come into dialogue with other works, traditions, the reader, and the critic; it can help the writer in exactly defining his intellectual position, in making it evident actually to whom he belongs and to whom he does not, and what contradictions of the era he must come to grips with. But of course it can introduce neither new concepts nor new morality. It can only help these come forth, can only create certain conditions for these to happen.

6691

CSO: 2500/379

PANEL REVIEWS OUTLOOK OF CITY VERSUS VILLAGE LIFE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Aug 82 p 5

[Interview with Otto Bihari, director of Hungarian Academy of Sciences Transdanubian Scientific Institute, Gyorgy Enyedi, director of Hungarian Academy of Sciences Research Institute of Geography, Zoltan Karpati, associate and Andras Vagvolgyi, candidate of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, by correspondent Denes Kovacs, date and place not specified: "On the Approach of Village to City"]

[Text] In the past decades, we have done much for the development of cities and villages. In the beginning of the 1980's, where does the balance between village and city stand? Are the living conditions of city and village dwellers becoming comparable?

Our editorial staff arranged a panel discussion on these questions. The participants were academic Otto Bihari, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Transdanubian Scientific Institute, academic Gyorgy Enyedi, director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Research Institute of Geography, scientific associate Zoltan Karpati and candidate Andras Vagvolgyi of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology. Our editorial staff was represented by Denes Kovacs.

[Question] In the past years, society has devoted increasing attention to the problems of housing development. Debates continue concerning the depopulation of villages, the future and destructive influences of urbanization, the development of the infrastructure and many other questions. How can this increased attention be explained?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: The increased attention is mostly due to the fact that our public opinion reacts sensitively to these social tensions that came into existence as a result of the varying degrees of development of cities and villages. Earlier, the inconsistencies between Budapest and the rest of the country were the primary determinatives; however, due to the effect of urban development, they have declined significantly. A modern network of cities has developed in our country, for the first time in Hungarian history. However, comprehensive urban development has not been paired with similar village development, so that sociological differences between the villages and cities and between the various sections of the country remain significant, and influence the way of life of their inhabitants.

## Overpopulation of the Cities

O. Bihari: In addition to that, in the past decade the population has moved to the cities in greater numbers than were planned or expected; in short, certain of our cities have become "overpopulated." Of course, the move to the cities is not a phenomenon unique to Hungary. Trouble only arises when improvement of the supply infrastructure and housing conditions cannot keep pace with the influx of people. This is a magic circle, in which rural populations leave the countryside to achieve better living conditions in the cities and to exchange their village way of life for the city one. However, because of this massive migration, we cannot create the desired conditions; thus in many cities housing conditions, trade and utility supply, and all else that characterizes city life develop slowly, or in some areas are deteriorating.

A. Vagvolgyi: In addition to the problems of city "overpopulation", the widely-publicized complete depopulation of the small village in Baranya Megye, Gyurufu, has also channeled society's attention to urban development. This case called attention to the other problem, the future of the villages, and increasingly many tolls of doom for the depopulation of small communities have been sounded.

[Question] Is there cause for fear concerning the future of the villages in light of urbanization? Is the depopulation of villages truly a danger?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: The answer is no. The depopulation of villages is only harmful if it affects entire districts and if the population decrease represents serious disadvantages to the remaining inhabitants. Studies have shown that the reduction in the population of rural communities has slowed in the past decade, and the habitation of the villages has decreased by four percent. More importantly, depopulation is not a universal rural problem. The population of larger communities is increasing, that of medium villages is stagnating; migration has primarily occurred from villages of under one thousand inhabitants. It is true, however, that this phenomenon touches half of all villages and 7.5 percent of the country's population, or almost 800 thousand persons.

Z. Karpati: If for no other reason, we must not fear for the future of the villages because the effects of urbanization, economic development and rapid development of agriculture have caused the living conditions of the rural population to improve. One-fifth of the industrial workplaces are now located in villages; the employment system of city and village dwellers has become similar; one-half of the industrial employees live in the villages. And what is perhaps more important, the income differences between urban and rural families have evened out. However, it is also true--as sociological investigations increasingly indicate--that recurring social tensions are still prominent, primarily because people's way of life and standard of living are increasingly decided by whether they live in cities or villages.

## Unequal Opportunities

[Question] Thus equalization between city and village is necessary; this is one of the basic goals of our socialist society. Why do we find this one of the pressing tasks of the coming years? How does they connect with community development and way of life?

[Answer] A. Vagvolgyi: Practical experience and sociological analyses both indicate that significant differences exist in social opportunities, depending on where one lives, in city or village. This is apparent in the research results that indicate that among the children of village families, fewer continue their education, go to college, or receive higher certificates than city children. This is a contradiction of the social equality desirable under socialism. These differences in opportunity can primarily be traced back to the fact that the standard and way of life and use of leisure time for village families are in many ways less advanced than for city families. Thus, opportunities depend on living conditions, quality of public education, school attendance for the children, and generally, how much the village environment encourages higher education. The infrastructural supply to the village in its broad sense also belongs to this environment.

Z. Karpati: Although it is true that income differences have been reduced between the city and the village, we cannot forget that equal income is earned through far more work in the village as compared to the city. The work time of village housewives as well as industrial or agricultural workers well exceeds eight hours daily. Profitable cottage industry also requires much overtime. This explains in part why today more and more talk is devoted to the ascetic and self-exploitative lifestyle of village dwellers.

G. Enyedi: It must be added here that the majority of villagers have lower trade experience and the proportion of unskilled workers among them is greater than among urban dwellers. This discrepancy can lead not only to financial, but also to social inequalities.

[Question] Social and economic equalization between the city and the village is strongly tied to agricultural development as well as what we have already mentioned.

O. Bihari: The future of agriculture is inseparable from the future of agricultural workers. The first condition for this future is that agricultural areas, the villages, should not become depopulated, or at least their population should not decrease in such a way to endanger agricultural production. Thus, improvement of the ability of villages to hold their population goes hand in hand with equalization of village and city. This, in turn, is inconceivable without development of roads and utility services, housing, the retail network, and health services, or development of the village infrastructure. And, as we often forget, since modern agriculture cannot operate without a modern rural environment, the productive infrastructure necessary for improvement of agricultural production and the population infrastructure which aids and insures a cultured lifestyle must be developed together and in harmony.

## A Changing Way of Life

[Question] However, in order that we change the present situation, that we restructure the rural way of life through deliberate community development--an important part of both our social and economic development--we must know what the village way of life is.

[Answer] G. Enyedi: Village communities were not identical even before the war, and clearly there are still significant differences among villages in terms of their way of life. In the past decade, in response to economic and social development, the traditional peasant way of life loosened. Hundreds of thousands of villagers moved to the cities, the vast majority of villages developed rapidly, and the living conditions of the village inhabitants improved at a fast rate. This is characterized by the improvement of rural housing conditions: in the 1970's, many hundred thousand family homes were built in the villages that were approximately 15 square meters larger than city houses. However, in terms of institutional supply, which the rural population could not cover with its own money, one group of villages continued to lag behind the cities.

A. Vagvolgyi: There are over three thousand villages in Hungary. Of them, 1580 have a population of under 1000 persons. This indicates that local infrastructural supply, the road system, stores and restaurants and services are most likely to have a destructive influence on the way of life and the chances of social progress for the populations. The smallest villages feel the most hardship. Studies show that larger villages, especially those with a population of above 3000, are capable of constructing advanced infrastructural establishments and operating them economically.

Z. Karpati: The greatest problem occurs with the smallest villages and the so-called baseline communities. These are far from cities and industrial centers, schools and physicians, and do not have enough stores. Tensions are increased by the fact that many commute from these small villages and the stationary population is growing older.

[Question] The development of differences between city and village is obviously influenced by vestiges of the past, but we cannot attribute our present worries to historical causes. How did our housing policy influence the significant development of the village on one hand, and the development of tensions between city and village on the other?

[Answer] G. Enyedi: Industrial development and housing policy did not take the personal motives for migration of the village dwellers adequately into consideration. However, one economic factor was considered: the quality and variety of work in the city was always greater than in the village, and thus played a great attracting role to those considering moving out of the village. Less consideration was given to the factor that the prestige of the village living conditions and way of life was very low for a long time, and many moved to the cities for this reason.

O. Bihari: After the liberation, in the period of extensive industrialization, housing development was equated with industrial development, and village populations were only regarded as the source of industrial labor. At the end of the 1970's, the accepted independent housing development concept was still basically city oriented. The need for a modern network of cities and the rapid growth of population in the capital played a part in this. At first, development of the five largest cities--Pecs, Szeged, Debrecen, Miskilo, and Gyor--was the central goal; in the seventies, megye seats and certain medium-sized cities came into the forefront; and only in the past few years have small cities and local centers come into consideration. This conception based on the hierarchy of communities--large cities, cities and villages--nonetheless represents false social values.

Z. Karpati: This also relates to the empirical error that we often associate urbanization with the migration to the cities, although urbanization requires the distribution of a more cultured environment and way of life. Mass movement into the city does not in itself mean a more developed way of life, not even social advancement. If, for example, someone leaves agricultural work to become an unskilled worker in the urban industrial plant and crowds into a workers' dormitory or a sublet apartment, this is not yet social advancement for him.

#### The Key to Village Development

O. Bihari: Village industrial development, which often took place without background industry or the infrastructure, was often also uncertain: if the urban parent industry saw fit, it could even close its rural subsidiaries. The significant development of state farms and the associated creation of food-industry businesses brought real and important change, and offered appropriate income and security to the village population.

[Question] What spontaneous processes can be expected in the development of villages in the coming decades? When and how much must the state interfere in these processes with deliberate and well-founded community policy? Is it necessary to announce some kind of separate village development policy for this?

O. Bihari: Equalization between city and village and community development is obviously a problem for the whole of society. Community development can help or hinder our economic efforts and the solution of our social problems. However, for this village development is unnecessary, if only because the key to village development is the development of cities.

G. Enyedi: The sixth five-year plan calls for curtailment of the migration to the cities, and improvement of the population-retaining capacity of likely villages. Thus, in the future we must count on village populations' movement to the cities, although in smaller numbers. Improvement of the population-retaining capacity requires changes in the system of community development, some of which have already been implemented.

Z. Karpati: It is most important that so-called basic provisions be met in every area, even in the small villages, and this is expressed also in the state community development conceptions. In addition to appropriate housing conditions, this includes sanitary drinking water, satisfactory connections with nearby larger communities or the appropriate transportation, road, and telephone network, electrical supply and basic utilities, the opening of stores that make the local purchase of groceries and personal aids possible, readily available medical attention, and so on. In larger communities and cities, higher-level institutions must be added to this basic supply such as secondary and upper-level schools, hospitals and clinics, trade centers and so on. Thus the development of village and city must be tightly connected.

From Local Resources, Too

[Question] These principles have gained acceptance in recent times. What resources are available to cover the considerable financial tools for development?

[Answer] A. Vagvolgyi: In the cities, hospitals, high schools, theaters and other institutions obviously serve a wider area, and thus the state budget must primarily finance their services. It has been thus in the past, and will obviously continue to be this way. However, it is also true that central financial tools are necessary for creation of the basic provisions in the villages. The state budget turns enormous sums over to the goals of community development at present; the debate is not so much concerned with the size of the communities, but with the allocation of these funds. Twelve percent of financial resources designed for communal goals is turned over to the villages, where half the population lives--and certain villages receive no support at all. The rest, 88 percent, goes to the cities, primarily the large cities. If we could modify these proportions, and I emphasize modify, then we would be making a great advance in the equalization of village and city.

Z. Karpati: We cannot select equality of distribution as our goal, naturally. However, we cannot expect to improve the supply to villages strictly through central funds. Above all, it is necessary that we better mobilize the local resources, support initiative and social work that serves community interests, and supplement central resources with local financial tools. There are such efforts in operation, and as a result in villages that cannot supply more funds as in other places, the local council can greatly improve living conditions simply through effective administrative work and effort.

O. Bihari: A facet of the extension of villages' entrepreneurial efforts is that villages should be able to manage their own income, accept greater responsibility, and decide locally where the money is spent. For this, it is first of all necessary that there be something to manage; in other words, the villages' already slim finances should not be withdrawn, and worthwhile causes should even be supported. Thus, more money is not necessary, just better distribution. This is also necessary so that the independence, responsibility, and democracy of the villages should increase. Considered

and well-founded community policy at the same time requires the harmonization of institutional systems on various levels--village, district--in addition to harmonious and simultaneous development of the city and the village.

G. Enyedi: Although we turned the focus of our discussion to the problems of the villages and their inhabitants, this does not mean that we are devotees of nostalgia for the traditional village life. Indeed, we seek more equal proportions between the development of city and village. As the city needs the groceries grown in the villages and the villages in turn need the services of the cities, it is certain that community development in accordance with socialist goals must strive to make living conditions better for people living in the villages and in the cities, and to spread the more advanced, urbanized way of life throughout the entire country.

9890

CSO: 2500/374

YOUTH GROUPS HOLD MEETINGS AFTER NINTH PZPR PLENUM

SZSP Supreme Council Meets

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by K. Z.: "About Student Needs"]

[Text] Despite the students' summer recess, discussions in the academic community have not ceased regarding the younger generation's future and life's perspectives. What are the results of the resolution passed by PZPR's Ninth Plenum regarding the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] and students in general? How will the organization share in its implementation? The scholarship system is proposed for Sejm law. These were the fundamental questions discussed by Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Union's Main Board, at a meeting with journalists at the SZSP Supreme Council.

The question about the sense of the Ninth Plenum's resolution and the definition of the younger generation's position do not seem completely interchangeable. The expectations expressed at the plenary discussions went far beyond the country's reality and possibilities, but the new mechanisms guaranteeing to the student movement control of state decisions and the achievement of a certain type of legislative initiative, is essential.

The decision to call for a Council of Ministers Youth Committee found full support in the academic community, which forced the organization to change its working style to include a fuller representation of the younger generation and greater recognition of its needs. The intention was to take advantage of the greatest number of youth during the drafting of the resolution. The Council of Ministers Youth Committee will coordinate the proceedings of all youth organizations and at the same time execute the resolutions adopted by the Council of Ministers. "We see in the activity of the committee," said Tadeusz Sawic, "the possible normalization of our community's problems without releasing other authorized institutions from their obligations." Calling the committee into being also portends changes in the economic sphere--greater possibilities for the development of student cooperatives based upon the system of self-financing, introduction of an independent servicing activity and regulation of the scholarship system.

There was much discussion at the party's Ninth Plenum on the necessity to adapt higher education to employment needs, current economic functions and the needs of culture and education. Voices from the workers' community criticized universities for allowing an atmosphere antagonistic to socialism to develop. In the view of T. Sawic, true values should be differentiated from clearly antagonistic, antistate activities.

Regarding youth integration, the SZSP is ready to act jointly with the academic community throughout Poland, to open dialogue, and to create a bridge of understanding with every group within the youth movement.

The SZSP, together with the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, must coordinate the plan for state financial aid to students. Two elements are contained in the plan: grants and special additional loans.

In the first category of scholarships is material aid to each student to cover minimal monthly living expenses, reduced according to family income. The minimal living costs should be set by the total costs: eating in the cafeteria, living in students' quarters, additional food and the purchase of paper, books and field trips, which can be 25 percent of the minimum payment. A student receives material aid for 10 months of the year. In the case of student families, invalids and orphans, the scholarship is earmarked for the entire year.

Within the second category of aid are minimal loans for persons in a particularly difficult material situation. The loans will be granted at 100 percent to those students who have received a diploma with a special award or with an A average or to those students who will work for 3 years in some deficient area. Loans of 75 percent will be granted to those students receiving a diploma with a B average.

The plan requires, of course, a broader discussion within the student community.

#### ZMW National Board Plenum

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 pp 1, 5

[Article by Jozef Szewczyk: "It Is Impossible to Make It Possible"]

[Text] Do we know what we want? What is the plan of action supposed to be? These are the fundamental questions that dominated the Eighth Plenum of the National Board [ZK] of the Union of Rural Youth [ZMW], which took place 1 August at Jadwisin, near Warsaw. The session was conducted by the ZMW chairman, Waldemar Swirgon. Also taking part were Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Socioprofessional Division of the PZPR Central Committee, and Kazimierz Fortuna, director of the Division of Culture, Education and Social Affairs of the ZSL Supreme Committee.

After singing the organizational hymn, a minute of silence was dedicated to the memory of those who had fallen during the Warsaw Uprising, on the 38th anniversary of its outbreak.

The discussions were led by Waldemar Swirgon, who stated that they would be devoted to program and organizational issues, according to the decision of the previous plenum. The union is at a point where it must discuss what the ZMW intends to do. Everything else will follow from this fundamental question.

The chairman of the ZMW National Board submitted a paper entitled "Strengthening the Unity and Independence and Consolidating the Socialist Character of the Union." (The paper's themes are printed on page 2.)

#### Discussion

The plenary discussion concentrated on two fundamental issues. The first was the union of the organizations and then construction of a positive program of activity. The second aspect concerned program proposals; e.g., initiatives adopted by the union's circles and stages.

The following persons spoke at the meeting:

Wladyslaw Zakrzycki, vice chairman of the Voivodship Board of the ZMW in Torun said, "In years past, criticism of ZSMP was sufficient to call ZMW circles to order. We imagined that after calling the ZMW to order, the same would take place. Today, one must perfect a program."

Andrzej Andrusiak, chairman of the Plant Board of the State Farm Combine Barlinek in Gorzow Voivodship, said, "After discussions before the First ZMW Congress, there is no reason to turn back. The color of the party identification card is not important but work is. Let's discuss important issues but let's decide also, for example, how to organize the agricultural olympics and how to help youth in specific matters. We have succeeded in earmarking an administrative building for apartments for young married couples."

Andrzej Soroka, Suwalki Voivodship, said, "Now waiting for the joining of the KC PZPR and NK ZSL plenums with respect to agriculture, we must fight to ensure that the young farmer beginning independent farming can obtain a tractor, seeder, plow and other basic tools on credit. Cooperation with the ZSMP has led to the situation where, instead of two agricultural olympics, we have one. I agree with the themes voted on in the referendum, especially cooperation with the People's Sports Unions, assisting them, correcting the state of culture and so on."

Jerzy Dolegowski, vice chairman of ZW ZMW in Lomza, said, "Functioning of the circles should be counted among the fundamental issues. This should be an inspiration for joint activity not only by youth but also by the entire rural society: cooperation with the initiatives of PZPR and the circles of ZSL and LZS.

"A very valuable achievement of the ZMW is the cooperation with youth organizations in other socialist countries and other activities in the WFDY."

Stanislaw Mrowka, chairman of ZW ZMW in Jelenia Gora, said, "The ZMW must defend the themes of unity in agriculture. This is the only chance for credibility of

action. On the other hand, equal rights written in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Plenum must be worked out through the participation of union members in the people's councils, self-governments and collective councils."

Stanislaw Gabrielski and Kazimierz Fortuna then spoke. Gabrielski remarked on the philosophy worked out at the Ninth PZPR Plenum regarding the program for a positive struggle for subjectivity and self-education by youth organizations, as well as on the philosophy of creating conditions to realize the goals of the younger generation. The resolution will not be realized without the participation of youth itself and without harmony of laws and obligations.

The activity of youth organizations must be inclined toward the struggle of moral renewal. This is also the primary task of the ZMW. The presence within the organization of members of the two parties should be only a source of strength, not of conflicts.

Fortuna said that it is extraordinarily valuable that the union is completing the stage of creation and entering the stage of positive work. This is not an exaggeration of the statement that the ZMW should be the union fighting for youth and principles, not for people's ambitions. The ZMW must stand for self-education. Each person has the right to expect that he or she will find his or her place in the ZMW. There is also a place for a partnership between the PZPR and ZSL.

The second portion of the plenum was postponed until the next plenary session.

The plenum adopted a resolution that included the following:

--Only an independent ZMW built upon the principles of internal democracy can become a school for social work and civic education; only such an organization can express the real opinions and position of rural youth regarding political parties and the authorities;

--Poland's future depends upon the unity of all Poles and upon their cooperation in the implementation of progressive socioeconomic and political alterations, whose directions were defined in the Declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON];

--The ideological influences of the PZPR and ZSL can rest only on the trust that the ZMW members express in the programs presented by both parties;

--Taking upon ourselves the cooperative responsibility for the most essential areas of the country's socioeconomic life, we accept the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Plenum, especially the ZMW's role as a constant element in the state's sociopolitical system, and also the guarantee by the PZPR of parity and equal rights for every socialist youth organization.

## ZMW Plenum Theses

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 2 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] The ZMW is a natural element in the country's political system but it is a nonparty youth union. It is open to members of the PZPR and ZSL; this should be its strength.

The union is entering a new stage of work, deciding its position, self-esteem and criteria for rural youth living in prosperity in a democratic state. After the stages of creating the organization and arguing about the union's shape comes the most difficult stage--implementation of the program. At the Ninth PZPR Plenum, the ZMW, together with the People's Sports Unions, obtained a broad field of activity. It must prove that it is capable of implementing ambitious goals.

Our ideology is socialism and our method is positive, organizational work toward the goal of social policy. Among the most important current tasks are:

--Activity toward the goal of perfecting the representative system in national and self-government councils;

--Concern about jobs in agriculture. The Ninth PZPR Congress and the Eighth ZSL Congress have recognized mining, agriculture and apartment construction as the most important areas. The state has taken responsibility of guaranteeing jobs in agriculture through the delivery of machinery and tools on credit. The system for distribution of these means has been controversial but we shall not judge this in the social category--what must be done to stop the degradation of rural life.

--The struggle to create conditions in the rural areas for personal self-realization through improvement of the infrastructure; e.g., waterworks and road construction.

--Development of youth settlements but on the condition that nobody accuses youth of taking away everything from the commune. Similar preferential principles for settlement should be created for youth possessing deteriorating farms after completing their agricultural studies.

At the First ZMW Congress, it was decided that the organization be a self-financing organization. There is no obstacle to creating a social organization or taking small factories supported financially by the ZMW. There can be different institutions; e.g., intermediaries selling used agricultural machinery, supplying LZS with sporting goods or bringing cultural life to the rural areas.

We will do what seems almost impossible. This is not an easy task for the ZMW. We need a new workstyle, a better one, because better is always the enemy of mediocrity.

9807

CSO: 2600/825

## YOUTH UNIONS URGE CREATION OF COMMISSION FOR COOPERATION

### Commission Draft Declaration

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 4 December 1981, at its Sixth Plenum, the Rural Youth Union [ZMW] was the first to call for a commission for the cooperation of socialist youth unions. Implementing the resolution of this plenum and opposing the proposals of the PZPR KC [Central Committee] Ninth Plenum, the outgoing Presidium of the ZMW ZK [National Board] in Krakow reiterated this appeal 19 July 1982 and adopted drafts addressed to the authorities of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] and the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] concerning preparatory efforts toward creating the commission.

Since the leadership of the SZSP and ZHP, and since 10 August 1982 the ZSMP as well, have favored creating socialist youth union cooperation, it is possible to publish the full text of the draft "Declaration and Operational Regulations of the Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations" [OKWOM].

We will publish the ZMW ZK draft document in another issue.

### Declaration Calling for a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations

Socialist youth unions are convinced that the future of the Polish People's Republic to a significant degree lies in creating conditions for unleashing the creative activism of young workers, peasants, intellectuals and students.

By participating in the creation of a broad social movement to bring the country out of the crisis and develop the socialist state, we are assuming joint responsibility for the shape and development of our homeland. We intend to achieve this through the comprehensive cooperation of socialist youth unions, based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank. The

primary goal of this cooperation, which will manifest itself in the coordination of tasks, the exchange of experiences and the establishment of common positions, will be to uphold the socialist ideals of social justice, democracy, and law and order in the consciousness and in social practice and to foster generally an atmosphere of moral opposition to conformist attitudes. This is promoted through the ideological ties of youth organizations with the party, expressed in the recognition of the PZPR's leadership role for building socialism and in common program assumptions.

Considering the preceding and expressing the desire to strengthen the ideological-political unity of Polish youth, their patriotic and internationalist attitudes and the coordination of international activity, the socialist youth unions propose the creation of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations.

#### Operational Regulations of OKWOM

To ensure the effective implementation of the interests of the younger generation in the Polish People's Republic--young workers, peasants, intellectuals and students--and to improve the coordination of the tasks of socialist youth unions, for the purpose of expanding cooperation and the exchange of experiences, the Socialist Union of Polish Students, the Polish Scout Union, the Rural Youth Union and the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, based on the experiences of the Nationwide Committee for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations from 1957 to 1973 and guided by principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank, conclude an understanding on the appointment of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations.

1. The OKWOM is the plane of cooperation and cooperative activity of socialist youth unions. It does not have power regarding the rights of statutory organs of unions; it has a social character.
2. All unions will participate in the OKWOM based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and equal rank.
3. OKWOM is made up of the presidiums of the central statutory authorities of the union founders.
4. The Union Chairmen's Group is OKWOM's coordinating, executive organ.
5. The Commission for Mutual International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions is the OKWOM organ in the field of mutual foreign contacts.
6. Each union has one vote in the OKWOM. All decisions are made unanimously. When no opposition on a given issue is expressed by any of the unions making up the OKWOM, the principle of unanimity is upheld.
7. The OKWOM is chaired by the particular unions on a 3-month rotational basis, in alphabetical order. This principle applies to meetings of the Union Chairmen's Group.

8. The OKWOM and the Unions Chairmen's Group meet at least once every 3 months. Meetings of the OKWOM and the Union Chairmen's Group may likewise be called at the recommendation of the interested union.
9. The OKWOM may permit representatives of other organizations to participate at its meetings as observers.
10. The particular unions share the costs of OKWOM activity on an equal basis.
11. Each union is free to leave the OKWOM. The withdrawal of one of the union-founders dissolves the OKWOM.
12. Changes in these regulations may be executed only by a unanimous resolution of all OKWOM member unions.

#### Rural Youth Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 12 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the ZMW ZK [National Board], by J. Szewczyk; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] In conjunction with the publication of the ZSMP position on the co-operation of youth organizations and the ZMW proposals submitted to our editorial staff, we asked Kazimierz Janik, secretary of the ZMW ZK [National Board] for a brief statement.

[Question] How did you react to the position of the ZSMP ZG [Main Board] leadership?

[Answer] We are pleased that, following the SZSP's and ZHP's positive response to our appeal, the ZSMP also responded favorably to our call for the creation of a Nationwide Commission for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations. We envisaged the need for such cooperation when the ZMW was formed. However, the principles of this cooperation had to be defined, since the type of co-operation differed from the former federation. Hence, at the Sixth ZK Plenum, we explicitly stated that we favor the creation of a plane of cooperation based on the principles of volunteerism, equal rights and the equal rank of socialist youth unions. We reiterated the proposal at Presidium deliberations in Krakow. The chairman of the ZMW ZK also spoke of them at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee].

[Question] What is the basis of your proposal? How does it differ from the ZSMP position?

[Answer] In the declaration we state that "the primary goal of this cooperation, which will manifest itself in the coordination of tasks, the exchange of experiences and the establishment of common positions, will be to uphold the socialist ideals of social justice, democracy and law and order in the

consciousness and to foster generally an atmosphere of moral opposition to conformist attitudes." Thus, we are not interested in only one selected problem but generally in an impact on molding the attitudes of the rural, working class, intelligentsia and school-age youth.

[Question] Until recently, youth looked unfavorably upon the existing forms of cooperation between organizations, if not upon cooperation itself. Everyone said that a resurgence of the federation was desired and that the old federation was a bureaucracy in which the ZSMP leaders held the key positions. Are you not afraid that the creation of a central commission will be criticized at the voivodship level?

[Answer] It is an exaggeration to say that everyone will suddenly have a burning desire for cooperation. Cooperation differs in different voivodships. Often conflicts and differences of opinion among organizations cannot be eliminated overnight. But there have also been such instances as in Zamosc, where a commission for cooperation would have been created without an inspiration from above. The fact that it was not is a separate issue; it was not our fault but the fault of our ZSMP colleagues (and not even the ZSMP voivodship leaders).

[Question] Such instances are in the past. What is the greatest advantage of the creation of a plane of cooperation? What results can it produce?

[Answer] The time of quarrels and accusations is over; the time of concrete work is here. We must undertake many things together, e.g., the positions of youth organizations on implementing legal documents, the possibility of taking positions on questions of key importance to youth, legislative initiatives and the like. The voice of Polish youth should be heard on these issues, not that of a single organization. This is the advantage. We cannot yet speak of the effect on development. We shall see what happens.

[Question] What do you think about implementation?

[Answer] As the initiators, we invite the leadership of the ZSMP, the SZSP and the ZHP to a consultational meeting in August.

8536

CSO: 2600/844

FURTHER PRESS COVERAGE OF POST-PLENUM YOUTH ACTIVITY NOTED

SZSP Official Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], by J. Szewczyk: "To Build Unity Among Youth--SZSP: The Most Important Thing Is to Reach the Goal;" date and place not given]

[Text] After publishing the stand of the ZSMP [Socialist Union of Polish Youth] on the issue of creating a Socialist Youth Unions Consultative Commission and on the matter of the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth] draft of "Declaration and regulations of the Nationwide Cooperation Commission for Youth Organizations," we requested an interview with Ireneusz Nawrocki, vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the SZSP.

[Question] How did you accept the proposal to create a cooperative commission for youth organizations?

[Answer] We noted with interest the matter of undertaking work to formulate a platform for the exchange of views and cooperation among youth unions. I would like to mention the fact that as early as in December of 1980 during our third congress along with the decision to leave the FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Polish Youth Unions], we adopted a resolution which proposed the appointment, as set forth in the constitution of the PRL [Polish People's Republic], of a "consultative commission based on voluntary action to bring together youth unions which declare their readiness to cooperate."

[Question] What kinds of issues and problems should this forum serve?

[Answer] In the aforementioned stand of the congress, we recognized the following, among others, as the most important joint issues: the improvement of conditions for youth beginning their careers, the democratization of the school system, the representation of youth in representative organizations as well as their representation in international forums. This last issue was implemented last July [1981] with the formation of the Commission for Joint

International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions. We, as SZSP, are pleased with its functioning.

[Question] In your opinion, when will this concept be implemented?

[Answer] We accept the invitation of the ZMW to discuss the principles and forms of cooperation of youth organizations. The subject is important and extensive, therefore, it will undoubtedly require much more discussion. Essentially, we are talking about a certain new process which is beginning in the youth movement. Therefore, time is not the most important issue but rather the goal which is to be attained. That is why it is necessary that not only the leadership of unions but the organizations as a whole be involved in this discussion. It is also necessary for the principles of joint discussions and work to be the primary confirmation of the intentions with which we all approach them.

#### ZMW Leader Interviewed

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 13-15 Aug 82 p 2

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, leader of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] National Board, "ZMW Acts on Behalf of the Advancement of Rural Communities;" date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] What according to the ZMW is the essence of the output of the Ninth Plenum and in what does the ZMW see chances for the implementation of its program? This subject is discussed by the leader of the ZMW National Board, Waldemar Swirgon in his interview with PAP:

"The National Board of ZMW," stated W. Swirgon, "expressed this clearly in its resolution stating that '...we are taking joint responsibility upon ourselves for the most crucial areas of social and economic life of the country and we accept with regard to the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and particularly the fact of describing the ZMW in it [resolution] as a permanent element in the sociopolitical system of the state as well as guaranteeing it equality and equal rights by the PZPR in respect to all socialist youth organizations.'

"The union has become a vital element of the socialist political system in Poland. As a 200,000-member organization of rural youth, the union forms the framework for the partnershiplike cooperation of young ZSL [United Peasant Party] and PZPR activists as well as of nonparty activists who respect the independence and social nature of our movement. The openness and diversity of the ZMW program is the power and the natural source of the internal dynamics of the organization. Socialism is our ideology; positivism and organizational work--our method of operation and regulatory social policy--our goal. The documents of the Ninth Plenum clearly state that the attitude taken of 'only valid' demands and requirements, under conditions of economic collapse, does not lead anywhere at present and always has disastrous instructive consequences.

Earlier the ZMW had already rejected the pretentious so-called generation trend in the Polish youth movement. In the documents of this plenum, of fundamental significance is the creation of conditions for the emanation of young people's own activeness according to the principle of "by and for ourselves" as well as the support of young people's service and productive cooperative activity, principally that of construction and housing, as well as the right to conduct economic-financial activity by means of creating their own economic organizations.

A precedential solution, which initiates the process of change in the country's political practice and the role of the youth movement in it, consists of decisions about the delegation, for the benefit of youth unions, of some of the constitutional powers, which until now have been reserved for state organs or political parties, such as, for example, opinion giving in regard to the plans or decisions of the state administration, the participation of socialist youth unions in legislative work, legislative initiative and control of the administrative apparatus. One of the key problems of socialist society is the development of democracy--the participation of society in decisionmaking and in the control of power. Under the conditions of our political system, there is no possibility nor need for an opposition party to play such a role modeled after bourgeois democracy. It may be expected that the youth movement, equipped with the above powers, could fulfill the functions of an "early-warning system" in socialist democracy. The creation by the youth unions, equipped with such powers, of a Commission of Cooperation as a socialist platform for joint action whose proposal was submitted by the National Board of the ZMW during its plenum of 4 December of last year [1981], could turn the youth movement into a kind of "youth chamber" of Polish parliamentarism and into an element of the development of social democracy.

The ZMW acts on behalf of the development of agriculture and the social advancement of rural areas within the framework of the common guidelines of the agricultural policy of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and that of the presidium of the ZSL National Board. In the interest of our members and all of society, we must state today that the degree of the implementation of common guidelines, despite the fact that it is in accord with all the principles, is insufficient and that is why positive effects may come quite late.

In firmly confirming the economic priorities of the Ninth Party Congress--mining, agriculture and housing construction, the ZMW stresses emphatically the need for qualitatively new decisions in matters concerning assistance for young farmers and the rural intelligentsia just as was done in the area of the two remaining priority tasks.

In understanding all the difficulties and crisis conditions of workers and peasants, the state must, in spite of everything, assume responsibility for the creation of work attitudes in state-controlled and private farming just as it does in respect to our peers in industry. This can take on the form of outfitting young farmers who build new farms or take over neglected ones with machinery and construction equipment.

In the nationwide discussion about rural areas and agriculture, the ZMW emphasizes the problem of water supplies for rural areas. Next to culture, democratism in gaining access to education and into sports of the People's Sports Unions, these issues constitute problems which besides machinery and building materials will determine the number and type of young farmers who will remain in rural areas. Modern and productive farming is farming by young, highly qualified farmers who are equal to urban dwellers in their civic and social rights.

We anticipate that the announced joint plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL National Board will undertake decisions which will serve the development of rural dwellers, the modernization of agriculture and Poland's self-sufficiency in the area of food.

9853

CSO: 2600/854

YOUTH LEADERS SPEAK ON IMPLEMENTING PZPR RESOLUTION

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 18, 22 Aug 82 pp 4, 5

[Article by Wladyslaw Bielec: "Three Times How"]

[Text] We presented three questions to youth organization leaders:

--How should implementation of the tasks set by the party's Ninth Plenum resolution take place which, as is known, were dedicated to the problems of youth?

--How do organization leaders view the activity of their unions after the Ninth Plenum and the publication of party-government documents covering youth?

--How should the activity of the Council of Minister's Committee on youth problems be propagated?

Their observations could constitute an excellent theme for discussion of the actions taken by individual organizations, and also on the significance and possibilities of coordinating their combined activities on behalf of the entire generation.

Jerzy Jaskiernia--Chairman of the ZG ZSMP [Main Board, Polish Socialist Youth Union]

1. The resolution is very general in most of its provisions. That is a result of the nature of that document but it can also be presumed that the Central Committee did not yet have a more specific solution of certain problems. This is the consequence of a situation in which the country's political and economic conditions, and thus the lives of young people are undergoing constant change. Also, changes in awareness are taking place relatively rapidly--in comparison to other periods--particularly in the case of youth, which was not prepared for political activity under such complicated circumstances by school, college or place of work.

And another matter, youth is not a monolith or compact social group. Its expectations are varied and the possibilities of their realization are dependent on where they reside, their environment and many other parameters. It is necessary to quickly translate the Ninth Plenum's resolution into the language of individual environments. What is most important is that the road that the party wants to travel together with the young generation has been laid out. The members of our union are awaiting rapid decisions and specific actions. I am in complete agreement with that, but at the same time they must be decisions that have been thought through and must be consistent with the proposals that we have been reaching since the Third ZSMP Congress through plenary deliberations and consultations with the aktivs of various groups.

Party activities are already taking place. Now the resolution and its implementation schedule must reach all basic party organizations and to the lowest levels of authority. Likewise its contents and implementation directions must become known by the members of our union--that is a task for us.

2. The Ninth Plenum's resolution meets the program goals we adopted at the Third Extraordinary ZSMP Congress. We elaborated a series of interesting ideological-educational work forms, of which perhaps we can at least identify the discussion on problems of the latest Polish history based on "Corrections from History" published by us. To be sure, we do not have a ready overall recipe for ideological-educational work with youth, something that today is particularly difficult, if the entire tangle of sociopolitical-economic conditions is considered. However, our work program in this area is subject to systematic enrichment.

Youth expects specific activities from the union in the economic and social area, among others, with respect to housing construction problems, equalization of the standard of living on the farm and in the city, working conditions and wages, and socioprofessional advancement. Specific youth initiatives in this area must be implemented realistically with the assistance of the party and administrative authorities in every environment (e.g., through creating youth housing-construction cooperatives, building-material pools, youth work cooperatives, and the participation of youth in the process of inventiveness and improvement of efficiency, and joint management of the work establishment and the environment). We note the specific effects of such activities, but also analyze the obstacles, including those of a bureaucratic nature in resolving youth problems by youth itself, or with its significant participation. We expect that party members, organizations and echelons will be assisting us to an ever greater extent in overcoming them.

We urged the Third ZSMP Congress to appoint a committee on youth problems which--with the participation of youth union representatives--will coordinate and review the activities of the authorities in matters that concern the new generation. This cannot be an institution that would only have an opinionmaking character, although it is precisely those kinds of committees that are coming into existence in voivodships. The opportunity created for us by the Ninth Plenum's resolution may be wasted for us in this way. Consequently, this requires resolution of the problem of the effectiveness of the committee's

activities, the scope of formal powers, endowment with special forms of authority essential for the proper execution of already adopted decisions, and also the full acceptance by administrative organs of its inspirational and opinion-giving functions.

With this kind of understanding of the committee's function, the task of union members and elements would be the preparation of postulates together with proposals for ways of their implementation, analytic materials relative to the accomplishment state of programs adopted on behalf of the young generation, and the signaling of irregularities appearing in current activities on youth's behalf. ZSMP members have a large role to fulfill in this area--as functionaries of the state's administration and economy who not only will be performing the functions of experts, but also be responsible for inspiring the activities of the organization itself.

Andrzej Ornat--commander-in-chief of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union].

1. Practice always dominates theory, hence specific activities will be reckoned. The resolution is an opportunity and we should not waste it. But we will waste it if we are satisfied with the fact itself, its existence, with the fact that the problem has been gotten rid of.

What needs to be done first? First of all, bring the existence of that opportunity to social consciousness. The plenum took place during the vacation period. In addition, personal decisions, for of course the plenum considered them, can dominate other decisions in the public's perception. All the same, the situation is not one in which there is discussion in every party organization, youth group, educational institution and workplace on what to do to have the resolution become practice and not just another nice document. Also, we have not yet learned to discern very specific solutions in general resolution formulations.

An enormous amount of work also awaits us in constructing the plan of a statute about youth which is to be presented for deliberation by the Sejm on the initiative of the PZPR deputies' club. This needs to be done as rapidly as possible. The next problem is the equally rapid adaptation of youth organizations to the proposals to grant new rights to them.

The most difficult problem is overcoming the feeling of a lack of perspectives which youth still talks about constantly. We are not without fault here. First, we ourselves began to complain loudly about how the young bear the greatest losses as a result of the current crisis. Now we wonder that they were seized by doubt, passivity, lack of faith in the morrow, a conviction of the uniqueness of their position against the expanse of history. At first, we taught youth persistently for years that the creator and contributor of everything is a good state, caring for the welfare of the young generation. Now we suddenly turn about-face and say--work with us, work yourselves, and we are surprised when we hear no cries of approbation.

Thus, on the one hand, restless activities are necessary and, on the other, patience while waiting for effects, primarily in youth's awareness. It is also

necessary that once having decided on the subjective treatment of youth and its problems, party echelons and party institutions not forget to be consistent in such activities.

2. We have been accustomed to the fact that the government itself implements government resolutions, and that it is omnipotent, and through the help of orders, regulations and acts of law can immediately create a thousandfold possibilities for executing decisions. Still, and again this is a truism, the basic elements of the party and of youth associations have decisive significance.

If the resolution speaks of incorporating youth in conducting the reform of agriculture, then institution commissions on youth problems cannot consist only of those who are experienced, who have eaten bread from more than one stove, while every initiative of the young is acknowledged with the statement "this won't do," or "there is no possibility."

Finding new courses of action, and the planning of equally specific undertakings is a task for party echelons and organizations and youth association groups. The holding of one or two meetings will not suffice here for getting acquainted with the resolution and for elaborating a 1-or 2-year program. Constant attention, continuous thought about youth's problems, and their participation in social, political and economic life is needed.

It is essential that youth organizations expand the social base of their activity. To be sure, not through violent, artificial development of the ranks, but mainly through working out their own means of discussing the most important problems with all youth, more effective interaction with youth, and realistic rather than imagined representation of youth's interests.

On the other hand, youth organizations must be aware that they are one of the main causative forces for implementing the Ninth Plenum's resolution, something that in effect also signifies responsibility for its execution.

3. A basic task of the committee is the programming of the activity of the government and leading organs of state administration on behalf of the young generation. That also is the coordination of government activity relative to those problems, shaping the directions and principles of cooperation by the government with youth and social organizations, and finally the supervision of the leading and central organs of state administration on behalf of youth. Thus, there is an abundance of these tasks.

Tadeusz Sawic--Chairman, RN SZSP [Supreme Council, Socialist Union of Polish Students]

1. The plenum's resolution is formulated concretely, and clearly sets tasks for party members, individual organizations and their echelons. It also contains recommendations and responsibilities for the highest authorities and has its substantiation in documents adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau.

We expect that further substantiation of the tasks of party elements and party members will occur in lower party elements and youth organizations, that the contents of the resolution will reach their members, and that all of them will be held accountable for implementing the tasks specified in the resolution.

2. One of the reasons for the failure to realize the resolution of the Central Committee's Seventh Plenum which was held in 1972, was the passive attitude of youth to the tasks contained in it. The contents of the resolution were greeted with much applause, but insofar as implementation is concerned, it was accepted that since the party had passed it, the party would implement it, and youth would simply benefit from the effects of a dynamic development of the country. The same mistake must not be made again. Our responsibility is to disseminate the resolution's contents among academic youth in our case, as well as to further discuss our own initiatives, our own actions and our own activity, beginning with current problems within the range of our own eyes and own hands. What is entailed is having as many students as possible taking part in defining the tasks resulting from the resolution of the Central Committee's Ninth Plenum and participating in its implementation together with our union members.

There are many problems to be solved in our group and they have been presented by the SZSP for many years. They pertain equally to social conditions, cultural activity, health, and the like, as well as to just social enrollment, quality of the instruction process with special consideration of content, level and forms for the conduct of political studies, the employment of graduates, student participation in scientific work, a joining of theory with practice, and the like. The union submitted its own plans in the case of most of these problems. Apparently we were too ineffective, and the period of growth and the general crisis did not favor resolution of the problems we raised.

The Ninth Plenum resolution creates greater opportunities for claiming our rights, insisting on and contributing to having the higher school discharge its responsibilities--instructional, scientific and upbringing on behalf of both students and society. We must avail ourselves of this opportunity.

3. The committee has a specific role to fulfill, but its possibilities should not be exaggerated. It should insist, recall to mind, encourage and criticize, but specific problems have been and will have to be resolved by individual ministries. It is also very important that the committee work in close agreement with youth organizations, that it not impose solutions on them but arrive at them in everyday cooperation. However, much also depends on the conduct of youth organizations. They should be concerned about granting the committee an appropriate rank. The committee should constitute a base for the regulation of the activity of state organs with respect to youth's vital problems. This can be achieved if youth organizations can submit problems on an equal basis for deliberation by that body, problems that are vital for youth.

Waldemar Swirgon, Chairman, ZK ZMW [National Board, Rural Youth Union]

1. How is one to create a source of program inspiration from this document for party organizations, state authorities and youth associations? As practice demonstrates, objective difficulties will begin to accumulate, obstacles will spring up, many people in responsible positions will shove the document into a drawer. Assuredly, more than one organization will adopt its own program, and will even have it printed nicely and...lay it down in the seat of honor.

I think that the most important work at this stage belongs to the youth movement. We cannot allow the plenum and its decisions to be forgotten. What is involved is the widest possible dissemination of the resolution, common understanding, how to draw the right to struggle for the just problems of youth from that document, and how to participate in its realization.

2. The danger exists that some youth will also consider that the document is sufficient and that the problems will resolve themselves. That mistake was made 10 years ago.

The plenum supported a series of initiatives that the youth movement is taking up. Conditions are being created for the development of such initiatives as the settlement of young people, the ZMW "New Village" cooperative movement, and sociocultural "People's Scene." These are rank-and-file movements to which the union has given a broader, even nationwide character. But what is important is, that ZMW circles managed to read guarantees and conditions for self-initiative in the resolution, and its schedule for implementation, so that they would find inspiration there for their own vision of the village and agriculture of the future. Also, that they would rediscover a place in them for their group and themselves, for every young boy or girl who wants to tie his or her life to the farm. It is true that such a vision does not emerge directly from the document. It is going to be necessary to fight for it, however, the party has confirmed the right of youth to that struggle in its documents, and has also confirmed a decided willingness to support it.

I will not conceal the fact that the union accepted the decision to appoint a committee with much distrust. We consider that the policy of understanding and cooperation by Polish youth unions is most important. If youth organizations are to be at variance, they will be unable to elaborate a common position, and thus the appointment of a committee may turn out to be a measure of little effectiveness. If they cooperate, the committee can be very useful.

We do not intend to boycott this initiative, or to be offended because it was implemented against our wish. If the committee becomes a form of government coming to youth on difficult problems which have not yet been taken care of, and will also be a force that supervises the implementation of the administration's responsibilities on behalf of youth, then the ZMW will also contribute its input to the committee's efforts.

10433

CSO: 2600/883

TRADE UNION MINISTER CIOSEK INTERVIEWED ON YOUTH

Warsaw WALKA MŁODYCH in Polish No 19, 8 Aug 82 pp 6, 7

[Interview with Minister Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the Social-Political Committee of the Cabinet, by Henryk Laskowski: "From Bitterness to Hope"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] For several weeks the press, radio and television have been full of information, evaluations and marvelous formulas concerning young people. It is a theme that appears in our social-political life every few years. According to one point of view, young people are characterized by nihilism, a lack of ideals, and a consumer attitude toward life. Another point of view, however, holds that young people are earnest, patriotic, uncompromising and sensitive to each manifestation of cold indifference and injustice.

[Answer] Both sides can be right. It is a problem as old as the world. Each older generation wants their children to be better than they themselves are. I have a 12-year-old daughter and I admit that I am especially irritated by those faults and weaknesses in her that I have been trying for years to overcome in myself. Perhaps that is the key to understanding this great divergence of opinion about young people.

[Question] Does this mean that the older generation wants their children to be better or does it mean that they are trying to raise their children in their own mold?

[Answer] In striving for the former, the holder generation in essence achieves the latter.

[Question] Thus it is not surprising that young people rebel against such behavior.

[Answer] Yes, but it has always been that way. Young people have always had their own values, their own evaluative scale, receptivity and conception of happiness. This newness connected with youth should mix with what adults offer, and not necessarily through the so-called battle of the generations. However, if disturbances occur in this mingling--and that happened in our country--conflict follows.

In the 1970's we educated a large number of young people. They are distinguished by high professional qualifications. That was to ensure implementation of the country's dynamic development according to the otherwise valid principle that when the nation develops, I too will have it better. In practice, however, the order of these components was reversed. As we know, the second half of the 1970's saw a crisis in expectations and social ideas. We wanted to leap a bit too quickly over the barriers of inability. We forget about the known principles that one must build systematically and gradually, that spurts of effort alone will not suffice. I confess that as a youth activist during that time I myself was fascinated with the vision of "another Poland." This faith was characteristic of all young people and the decided majority of adult society as well. But as far as criticisms of young people, it is unfair to lay on them exclusive responsibility for recent events and their related troubles. It is high time in our complicated reality to dispense with criticisms that are oversimplified and often made only for effect.

[Question] Nonetheless, young people are reproached for "knowing only how to take, for being susceptible to demagogic slogans and for being blind." Are they, as some claim, a threat to "the harmonious building of socialism in Poland" or are they its chance for success?

[Answer] Clearly, they are the one and only chance for success. How can it be otherwise? Obviously, they are also a threat, but to the barriers and obstructions caused by conservative thinking. Young people are the only chance for success for the country, the people and socialism. True, young people, like the whole society, are not always free of negative phenomena or bad individuals. I will allow myself, however, to return to the example of my daughter. The conditions in which she is living are decidedly better than those in which I grew up. At age 16 I left my home; what I achieved I gained through my own work. In the meantime both I and millions of older Poles are trying to create ever better conditions of life for our children, the rising generation. Perhaps that is a reason why young people are not adequately prepared to overcome the hard realities of life and why they often experience disappointments.

[Question] In "Main Directions of Activity Resulting from the Program for Improving Conditions of Young People's Start in Life and Professional Work," which was accepted by the cabinet on 14 June this year, we read that "educated, courageous, energetic people with initiative are gaining wide fields of activity...." Mr Minister, what guarantee do we have that this time this provision will be implemented?

[Answer] All of us demand a guarantee for everything. In recent times "guarantee" has become one of those wornout catchwords that no longer mean anything and explain very little. After all, life is a swift-flowing stream of phenomena and events. At most, only certain truths and directions can be seen in it. It is not possible for something to result merely because of a guarantee. Rather, we must create the social mechanisms that will ensure that the processes to follow a projected course according to expectations. For example, for many people economic reform is still associated only with legal acts passed by the Sejm and not with the long process of reorganizing the economy. Different, and also disadvantageous, phenomena will appear in this process, as, for example, a temporary lowering in the standard of living.

Not everyone wants to understand, first, that the substance of the reforms depends on their allowing us to achieve a standard of living truly within our means and, second, that they will enable the creation of real conditions for the Poles' collective effort to be effective and for the standard of living to depend only on work--on its quality and quantity. We will be in a position to evaluate the full results of reforms implemented in this manner only when I and my generation are left to the good graces of today's youth as pensioners and retirees. And so we have barely begun to fashion the shape of the adult life of today's youth.

The reforms should eliminate all the bad traits of our economic life, such as voluntarism, doctrinarianism, and schematism. The young people are the chance for the success of the reforms. After all, the reforms are mainly for them. That is why they will be the driving force of the reforms.

[Question] What are the concrete possibilities for young people to assist the reforms?

[Answer] In the first place, they can assist by having a more open economic pattern of thought than adults and, in addition, by letting the actual situation in the plants dictate their tasks. The reforms will expose what was artificial or unsound in the plants, such as disorder, waste of materials, disrespect for workers' responsibilities, and incompetence in the management cadre. Young people will be forced to make the same effort as the entire staff to stand up to these unfavorable phenomena. If they do not make this effort, everyone will lose. Thus the consequences will affect older and younger workers equally. Young people nevertheless find themselves in a relatively better situation, for they have more opportunities in life and will more easily and quickly be in a position to qualify for a new job and to adapt to new conditions.

[Question] The economic reforms are producing objective economic mechanisms. One has only to become acquainted with them in order to put them into practice and benefit from them.

[Answer] Yes, at last a situation will exist in which black will be black, and white will be white.

[Question] Ten years have passed since the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, which, within the framework of a program of "dynamic, comprehensive, modern development of the socialist fatherland," formulated the "new, great and thrilling tasks, perspectives and opportunities of the entire young population."

[Answer] The plenum had important significance for achieving "another Poland." I was one of those who organized young people for the achievement of that goal. It was truly a beautiful goal and a thrilling task. We had genuine enthusiasm and faith. When the road led us to crisis, the disappointment was all the greater. The resentments were all the greater. The sources of error lay in the second half of that decade. We were not able then to draw conclusions from what was happening in the world. However, the Seventh Plenum of the KC [Central Committee] should not be condemned. We can ask ourselves whether the program undertaken at that time could have been successful and whether it had a chance of being feasible. After all, we promised a great deal. We tried to

appeal to the imagination. Today we know that this vision was too beautiful to be realistic. It is a shame that at the end of the 1970's we did not succeed in correcting those dreams of young people.

[Question] Many journalists claim that the 1972 plenum itself initiated in young people the growth of a consumer attitude toward life and the emphasis on "What will I get from this?" Were the 1970's really a period when great numbers of young people were getting apartments and finding attractive and well-paying jobs?

[Answer] They were to get them. That is what they were promised. These promises materialized only partially.

[Question] Can one not state that the proverbial mana from heaven fell to these young people?

[Answer] Obviously, it did.

[Question] Several thousands of those young people are still waiting for apartments and are also working at jobs not matching their education. The problem of the politics of promotion--vertical and horizontal--has not yet been resolved. Thus are we not mystifying the problem of the so-called consumerism of young people?

[Answer] One must always seek the source of such opinions in us, the adults. Each father and mother should evaluate their own part in the upbringing of their children. Returning to the Seventh Plenum, one must admit, as already mentioned, that it awakened hopes for rapid and easy success. Moreover, not only the plenum itself did this, but the whole politics of the time. The large raise in salaries in the early 1970's was not accompanied by increased productivity. Later it was difficult to explain that such a state of affairs could not last forever. This also concerns the period after August 1980, when it was beyond the means of Solidarity activists, too, to tell society that it must give up some things and work more productively. They preferred to formulate abstract economic programs that were somehow to solve all our troubles automatically. It is not surprising that this pursuit of the politics of easy success independent of the person and his work caused not just young citizens to frustration.

[Question] Yes, but the demand and desire to achieve success without additional work and the demand for greater pay without an increase in productivity are somehow strangely attributed almost exclusively to workers. After all, not only the workers grew accustomed to an easy job and an easy life. Foremen, managers, directors and ministers grew accustomed to voluntarism, to the philosophy of "somehow it will happen." It is difficult to expect only young people to want to work more. Perhaps the problem lies in changing the consciousness of the whole society, not only of the young people--justly so, since we are not reforming the young people, but the economy.

[Answer] Yes, but we are giving too little attention in our discussion to the need for the management cadre to work better and differently from before. Besides, the problem is broader, for it concerns matters of the work forces' joint management and joint responsibilities.

[Question] To return to the Seventh Plenum, however, one outcome was the attempt "to unite the whole young generation." In 1973 the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], the ZSMW [Union of Socialist Rural Youth], the ZHP [Polish Scout Union], the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], and the SZMW [Socialist Union of Military Youth] formed the Federation of Socialist Youth Unions [FSZMP]. When the ZMS and the ZSMW were combined in 1976, the multi-group unions were established after the August events as a result of sharp political battles; the FSZMP broke up. How do you, as one of the youth leaders of that time, evaluate this "effective narrowing of the units of activity"?

[Answer] Perhaps my opinion will not be shared. The federation was not a bad creation. Then, just as now, many matters were common for all young people and their organizations. The federation enabled strong links to determine a more effective representation of the young people's interests. Perhaps it is a shame that the FSZMP fell on the turn of events in 1980. Perhaps some sort of error distorting the significance of its existence was the deciding factor. After all, independent associated youth organizations formed the federation. But the formation of the ZSMP in 1976 could have led to shaking this partnership, since the chairmen of the Main Board of the ZSMP somehow automatically became the chairman of the Main Council of the FSZMP also. Naturally, domination of this type resulted in the ZSMP's taking over many functions of the federation. The attempt to oppose this domination might have led to the collapse of this important area of cooperation and joint activity in the youth movement.

After some time young people will very likely again conclude that such joint representation is imperative. Of course, its need must be genuine, and the form must be worked out by the young people themselves. But it would be good if pupils, students and even college graduates starting to work at plants could be members of organizations with the same ideological goals.

Since we are discussing youth organizations of the 1970's, I would like to recall the situation in the student community of that time. I was the last chairman of the ZSP [Polish Student Association]. I remember that after many discussions the active of the association concluded that the previous rules of the organization, which was limited only to social and daily life matters, were no longer applicable. Evolving in the direction of an ideological and educative union was characteristic for the ZSP. Naturally, it also implemented a political program to an ever greater degree. That brought the ZSP close to the ZMS and the ZMW [Rural Youth Union], which were active in the schools. Against this background, animosities sprang up; youth activists fought for influence among the students and school authorities. Thus it is good that one organization--the SZSP--could be formed in the student community.

[Question] But have we returned to the initial situation? The ZSMP and the ZMW have appeared alongside the SZSP in the schools.

[Answer] Ostensibly it is a similar situation. After all, the SZSP and the two other organizations have a similar ideological-political character. Thus, there is all the more need for the young people to consider what should be done in this contingency.

[Question] Quite so, the youth movement has always been the lens in which all the errors and inconsistencies of politics converged.

[Answer] Perhaps that is natural.

[Question] Yes, but young people, and youth organizations also, bear the highest educational costs of such inconsistencies. First, they are told to believe in something that, as a result of the next turn of events, turns out to be shallow and untrue. What should a youth movement be like in order to be a genuine vanguard of the young generation?

[Answer] I am not a theoretician of the youth movement and it would be difficult for me to attempt to formulate universal principles in this area. Also, I have not had direct contact with youth organizations for many years. However, the student movement is not needed only and exclusively to represent the interests of young people but to expose and to elevate in each young person's hierarchy of values the most worthy traits, phenomena, views and attitudes. After all, among young people, too, there are wise individuals; there are also stupid ones, courageous and opportunistic people, honest persons and those who are the opposite of honesty. That is true of the whole society. A person who joins an organization must change for the better in the collective. He should have opportunities to form his own individuality and to mature to future civic responsibilities. These are general observations. It will be better when the young people and their activists answer this question themselves. It is difficult for those who left the youth movement many years ago to find the formula. However, it would be good if representatives of the youth unions did not begin their speeches with the words "we young people." Age itself should not be an argument in discussions.

[Question] Who besides the young people wants such youth unions?

[Answer] Everyone does.

[Question] Previous attempts--this concerns the whole 37 years of People's Poland--have not been totally successful.

[Answer] Young people have always wanted, and will always want, such an authentic organization. A certain conflict can occur, since they would like a union in total agreement with them, that is, with each person. But, after all, a youth union will never represent the views of each of its million members. That is impossible. This is the source of many difficulties. After all, no one will formally prohibit the establishment of an organization that the young people feel is a good collective, close to their needs and conceptions. But if the organization only formulated postulates and demands, there is not much substantial in that; too frustration and discouragement would follow. Young people should formulate the program but they must also learn to struggle for appropriate matters.

[Question] Since April 1981--that is, since its Third Extraordinary Congress--the ZSMP has been struggling for the establishment of a Cabinet Committee for Youth Affairs. That idea enjoyed the support of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR. Who is afraid of the establishment of the committee?

[Answer] Among others, I am. It would be bad if that were the only answer to the present complicated ideological-political, professional and social situation of the young people. We have had rather frequent experience with the practice of resolving difficult problems merely by creating commissions. Obviously, they were not in a position to settle anything but they permitted us to check the problem off the list. First, one must know what he wants to be settled. A program is necessary. The last plenary session of the Central Committee of the PZPR was devoted to this goal. The government has also presented a plan for resolving the problems of the young people's start in life. Now is the time for organizational matters. There are many matters concerning young people that require diligent undertaking and resolution.

[Question] We are a young society, which takes pride in a relatively high level of education. Over half of our working citizens are under 35 years of age. At the same time, the youngest minister is "only" 43 years old.

[Answer] Not only the government but also the young generation, and especially its representatives--that is, the youth movement--should answer that question.

[Question] That is a reflection, not an answer.

[Answer] If a concrete answer is of concern, then it is clear that we should have more young people in Poland, and not only in ministerial positions. The near future will be conducive to this, not because the growing "penetrating force" of the youth movement will cause it, but because there will be better specialists, better activists and better politicians among these young people and because cadre politics result from a natural process. If, however, the concern is for cadre political management of systems alone, then this is a question of development mechanisms, which will naturally subject progress to the quality of the cadres. After all, we are setting in motion such mechanisms in the framework of economic reform. This must open the way for the capable and the enterprising, not only for the young, incidentally, but for them also.

[Question] With the hope that that is how it will be, I thank you for the interview.

9451  
CSO: 2600/855

## RESULTS OF WRITTEN HIGHER SCHOOL ENTRANCE EXAMS ANALYZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24-25 Jul 82 pp 1, 8

[Text] (Own Information) At the largest colleges of the capital--at Warsaw University, Warsaw Technical University, the Agricultural University of Warsaw, and the Main School of Planning and Statistics--entrance examinations are nearing the halfway mark. Everywhere, the written part has been completed.

On some faculties, mainly university faculties, the commissions have announced the results, and there youth have taken, or will take in the next few days, the oral examinations. At the Technical University, and also at the Agricultural University of Warsaw, where multiple-choice tests predominated, summarization of results is continuing with the help of mechanical tabulators.

### Nothing New

Such are the first scores of the written part of the examinations at Warsaw University, as reported by the secretary of the school's enrollment commission, Wojciech Hensel, the results will be the same as in previous years--almost 50 percent unsatisfactory, a few very good, and the most average. This however is almost traditional; the candidates always do worse on the written part. After the oral examinations, the total scores usually change.

The opinion on the average scores is confirmed also by the secretary of the commission at the Main School of Planning and Statistics, Boguslawa Sosnkowska. "We are satisfied with the written part," she says. "It was no worse than in previous years. The average of unsatisfactory scores always ranges from 50 to 60 percent at our school and now it will be similar."

The great differences in the level of preparation of candidates are shown in many groups by grades of very good, and by papers handed in with only the title and a brief explanation, "My mind is blank," or "I don't know this," despite the fact that the candidates had a choice of topics.

### Easier This Year?

It is still too early to determine the base score for this year's candidates. The number of twos [F] or fives [A] on the written tests does not give the basis for this score especially because the grades also depend, and to a considerable degree, on the difficulty of the examination questions and of the

subjects. Many people I talked with express the opinion that this year the test was easier, for example, in mathematics at the Technical University, and also in foreign languages, mainly Western. It was possible to select less complicated questions and the young people took advantage of this, as was shown in the results.

Others say, though, that it was not as easy as it seemed since the Ministry of Education prepared trick questions requiring thought. Doubts will be settled after the oral examinations, as was said by Jerzy Kowalski, secretary of the college commission at the Agricultural University of Warsaw. If the written scores are borne out by the orals, that will mean that youth are better prepared. If, however, next to good scores from the written examinations, twos [F] are entered after the orals, that will be proof that the written subjects really were easier.

What's on the Plus Side, What's on the Minus?

On the positive side, for certain, as was underlined by all those I talked with at the schools, the atmosphere during the examinations was better than in previous years. Many fewer issues were brought before the commission this year. Registration is going along more calmly and there is less nervousness among those taking the exams as well as among the examiners.

The reason is the generally good organization and, above all, the less crowded conditions at the schools because of the smaller number of candidates. The craze for higher studies which dismayed examiners in past years, clearly slowed this year. This was a result of the demographic low in secondary schools, but not only of this. More and more often, young people do not see the solution to their life situation in completing higher studies. They simply lack motivation.

Also causing distress is the fact that among candidates for college, there are fewer young people from small communities and towns, especially rural youth. These candidates also, as shown, for example, by the results of examinations at the law or political science faculties of Warsaw University, most often cannot handle these tests. They are not well-read; examiners usually reproach them for mechanical thinking, a lack of individual judgment, and even insufficient mastery of the material called for in the program. Attempts at going beyond textbook knowledge, relating it to other problems, usually ends in disaster. Many works from history or from Polish studies, requiring a reasoned grasp, are handed in unfinished. If this phenomenon is confirmed by the total score, it will definitely be necessary to take this into consideration.

Oral examinations will last to the end of the month. In the first days of August, as the enrollment commissions inform us, the lists of accepted candidates will be posted.

9915

CSO: 2600/889

PROBLEMS OF 'SOLIDARITY' GROUPS IN FRG REPORTED

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 11 Aug 82 p 3

[Report by W.M.: "On a Dead End Street"]

[Text] (Own Information) A few days ago, at the headquarters of Solidarity's "information bureau" in Bremen (FRG), the emigre activists of the aforementioned organization held a press conference for the purpose of presenting their rallying cries and problems to the West German public.

It is a well-known fact that the "information bureau" in Bremen was created with the help of the authorities of that city's senate and that it is managed by former Solidarity activists from the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk who came to Bremen by way of invitation from the West German trade unions and found themselves in that city when martial law was introduced.

These activists are trying to take over the coordination of activity of several groups of emigre Solidarity members in the FRG in such cities as West Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg, Hanover, Duesseldorf, Munich, Saarbruecken and Augsburg.

Despite appearances to the contrary, only a small number of Solidarity activists who remained in West Europe after the introduction of martial law are continuing "trade union" action and are trying to support the Solidarity underground in Poland with assistance from West German organizations.

It is evident from information on the conference, which appeared in West German press, that there are approximately 180 members of the suspended Solidarity in FRG but only 16 of them are attempting to conduct activity on behalf of their organization. A similar situation exists among Polish students who are staying in the FRG. Of the several dozen or so who did not return to the country, only a few are conducting political activity against Poland.

It is these students, supported by the rightwing organization of German students (the so-called, RCDS--Circle of Christian-Democratic Students affiliated with the Christian-Democratic Party which opposes Schmidt's

government) which backs the revisionist demands made on Poland by many West German organizations, who were the coorganizers of the aforementioned press conference whose aim was to gain moral and financial support for Solidarity from West German political parties and organizations.

All three of the above-mentioned organizations--emigre Solidarity, the coordinating bureau of Polish students and the West German student organization complained to the journalists about the lack of assistance for Polish workers and students in the FRG.

"Contrary to political predictions," reports FRANKFURTER ALLEGEMEINE ZEITUNG, "the Head Office of German Trade Unions (DGB--Duetsche Gewerkschaftsbund) has limited to a minimum its support for Solidarity emigres. Their office in Bremen currently receives only minimal assistance which is not even enough to take care of its present needs. Support for other Solidarity bureaus in FRG has in practice also been halted. The chairman of RCDS, Weberling, spoke about the 'superficial solidarity' of all larger organizations (West German--Editor's note) with Poles. The SPD [Social Democratic Party] and DGB in particular, are acting with significant reserve in this case."

"As was reported at the conference," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG continues, "the Solidarity bureau in Bremen is experiencing a shortage of quarters, of teletypewriters, writing materials and typewriters. The members of Solidarity in Bremen are asking that a fund drive be organized to help continue their activity and that of the underground movement in Poland." These funds are indispensable for the continuation of illegal publishing and leaflet activity.

Attempted accusations of a "lack of interest in Solidarity" by West German society and authorities caused great astonishment among West German public opinion. The representative of the "coordinating bureau" of Polish students in the FRG accused the West German peace movement and leftwing political groups of "silence on the situation in Poland" and also meddled in an unprecedented manner in the internal affairs of these organizations.

He maintained, among other things that these groups and organizations "propagate Marxist ideas literally and entirely without criticism and without the slightest idea of what they are about." In addition, he had the audacity to make accusations against Chancellor Schmidt and the chairman of the parliamentary fraction of the SPD, Wehner, claiming that Schmidt's famous and unusually moderate statement made after the introduction of martial law in Poland: "The Poles have accepted [martial law] with deep bitterness" and Wehner's (he is the chairman of the parliamentary group which controls the SPD in the FRG, who paid a visit to the Polish authorities at the beginning of this year [1982]) attempts at ingratiating himself with the Polish junta "created feelings of great disenchantment."

These statements provoked astonishment and outrage among journalists not only because of their extremely bold, not to say, impudent, tone but also due to the fact that their authors were not in Poland after 13 December and that they obtain their information about public feeling in Poland only from that foreign press which writes about Poland and about Poles in a negative manner.

This was not the only tactless act by the Polish emigres in regard to their German hosts. They also made accusations against the German Red Cross claiming that the financial assistance sent to Poland through this organization "is not distributed in accordance with the wishes of the donors." They claimed that "the German Red Cross does not supervise the further fate of this assistance after it has been placed in the hands of the Polish Red Cross. Meanwhile," they claimed, "the German Red Cross is making constant assurance that according to its observations, this assistance does reach the appropriate groups of people."

The international respect which both organizations--the Polish and the West German Red Cross enjoy caused this assertion to be met with criticism by the public opinion of the FRG and by the activists of these organizations all the more that in the FRG, it is well known that the distribution of food packages and medicine is supervised on the spot in Poland by special groups of the German Red Cross.

Obviously, the Solidarity activists in Bremen, most of whom are from Gdansk, are not concerned with the interests of Polish society but only with the specifically understood interests of their emigration "bureau" since in their "appeal" to the West German public which was relayed to reporters at the aforementioned press conference, they called upon the Germans to boycott all commodities originating in Poland or exported by Poland to the FRG on the basis of agreements entered into in years past.

This "appeal" states demagogically and contrary to the truth that these commodities are "snatched from the mouths of children, women, the ill and the elderly." Meanwhile, it is a known fact that food is not the core of Polish exports to the FRG and that exports are the only source of obtaining foreign exchange for maintaining the Polish economy even at such a low level of turnover as at present. This is not even to mention that exports are also the only source of foreign exchange for the repayment of debts incurred in past years.

9853

CSO: 2600/876

## BOOK ON CHALLENGES OF MODERN WORLD REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 12, Dec 81 [signed to press March 1982] pp 131-133

[Review by Jan Zielonka of book "Wyzwania współczesnego świata" [Challenges of the Contemporary World] by Michał Dobroczyński, Janusz Stefanowicz and Andrzej Wasilkowski, Wiedza Powszechna [Popular Science], Warsaw, 1981, 233 pages]

[Text] The recent years have brought about a considerable increase of interest in global problems. This is understandable in a situation where these problems are no longer only a function of the expansive policy of the world powers but also--and even above all--the function of the growing interdependence of development of the individual states and nations. Under the effect of technological and sociocultural development, the world has become "smaller" causing universalization of certain dangers; for example, the neutralization of the danger of the outbreak of nuclear conflict or, on the other hand, the need for new energy sources. Even though the successive global problems concern to a different degree the individual states or social groups, one can observe ever greater awareness of the existence of common problems for all mankind and the need to search for common solutions.

Consequently, the interest in global problems is no longer only the domain of world powers but also of the poor and small states, which in their search for global and just developmental solutions see the possibility of an improvement of their existence. In this discussion, everyone must be active.

Polish literature previously had no treatises discussing world problems from this angle. The challenges of the modern world are therefore an expected and necessary work. The authors refrained from using a pathetic form that often serves in presenting an apocalyptic vision of the modern world. This book records that a vivid and interesting discussion. Problems that harass mankind in the second half of the 20th century. Participants in this discussion succeeded in giving it a direction that was thematically and methodically consistent and scientifically cognitive. This book is therefore not only a sui generis eristic game but also an important contribution to the accomplishments of our modern political thought. Even though its discussion format involves a certain confusion and thematic inconsistency; allows one to touch upon marginal problems, alongside the most important ones; and prevents the windup of certain thoughts and full use of all arguments, nevertheless--by its very lack of schematism and even a certain provocativeness of appraisals--it allows presenting many matters in a creative and revealing way.

This is surely the greatest merit of the book. It contains many extremely pointed thoughts. They are sometimes expressed as a footnote against the background of the main point, but their formulation permits us to look in a completely new way at the problems touched upon in them.

Another merit of the book is that the authors do not bring forward global problems solely from the viewpoint of dangers. After all, the very fact of singling out global problems is a matter for discussion and differentiation. "Albeit for clarity's sake we speak all the time of global problems--in general," remarks Janusz Stefanowicz, "in actual fact they occur as problems of individual nations and states, at the very most of their groups and regions, for they are being refracted very clearly in different prisms of their characters, life levels, position, ideologicopolitical options, etc."

Apart from the fundamental problem of danger, the authors present the question of needs and possibilities and the resulting dilemma of disproportion. They discuss a problem of the interdependence and organization of societies. It is not, to be sure, a complete list of global problems but it constitutes a good introduction.

Chapter 2 is surely one of the most interesting parts of the book: needs and possibilities. The authors offer an interesting classification of the needs in a unique way in our literature; they discuss a problem of basic needs, showing a variability of the relation between the needs and possibilities. Most important, they do not attempt to present readers with any "golden means," which would immediately solve these dilemmas. They emphasize--which is essential--that the problem of a balance between supplies and needs is being determined in the last instance not so much by a relation of man to nature but by a social structure.

As a sidelight of the discussion, many interesting and bold observations were made; for example, a statement that the gist of world energy problem is not the absolute shortage of fuels but the disruption of the international economic equilibrium. In the opinion of Dobroczyński, the rising export prices of crude oil by petroleum countries, which developed among other things in connection with the East-West system of forces, have caused the highest transfer of riches in economic history; the resulting disequilibrium in the exchange of goods and services may have consequences of historic proportions.

Regrettably, in a discussion of disproportions the authors limit themselves to a detailed consideration of demographic problems and only mention disproportion problems in other areas of social life, especially in education, health service, housing and food supply.

The discussion on dangers, however, gives full satisfaction to the readers. This concerns in particular the unschematic representation of problems of the natural environment and a discussion of dangers of a spiritual character. Worthy of note are considerations of elements of interdependence in the organization of societies. No easy and quick proposals are offered. The authors straightforwardly describe the meanders of a subordination and interdependence of particular global questions; they point out their subjective and objective elements and relate solutions advanced during the past few years to successive models and proposals.

The debaters avoid the technocratic visions of modeling societies and the utopian visions of the world government. They point out where the rationalization of our macro actions should depend and where the limits of optimum shaping of the social model are. At the same time, characteristically these reasonings show an optimistic belief that the matters of this world may be solved in an organized and expedient way, that difficulties and problems awaiting us will not lead to a catastrophe on a worldwide scale, that a spiritual and material development of societies is a constant process, both in the near and remote future, whereas the extent of development depends on our ability of jointly solving global problems.

The challenges portrayed by the authors are challenges of a turning point. This element is emphasized in many places. The discussion shows how the interdependence of individual states grows and how previous models of cooperation are inadequate to developmental needs and aspirations of societies.

The awareness of this dangerous stage of the turning point is somewhat at variance with the optimistic vision of the development of processes being discussed. The turning-point periods have been characterized by acute social tensions and economic breakdowns. Even though ultimately the turning point may lead to a discontinuous progress, the societies of the turning-point eras, were always paying a price for progress; wars, revolutions, economic crises accompanied historic changes. Today's global problems are problems of the whole world. Is the price of progress to be paid by all inhabitants?

The authors of the book consciously refrained from putting the problem in that perspective because of a danger of sensation and speculation. The assumption of the optimistic development of events gives priority to rational arguments. In this way the scientific and cognitive value of the book has been preserved. However, it is difficult to credit history with full rationality, and it is not out of the question that the period of the present turning point will write a tragically irrational scenario.

The book is important, because of its scientific as well as didactic value. It might be especially useful for the understanding of problems of the political geography and present-day international relations. Its language is vivid and lively so that its reading is a real intellectual treat.

1015

CSO: 2600/838

SEJM DEPUTY INTERVIEWED ON EDUCATION AFFAIRS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Aug 82 p 5

[Interviews with Sejm deputy Jozefa Matynkowska by Ewa Kluczborska: "Our Responsibility Is Twofold"; Date and Place not Given]

[Text] [Question] You are a deputy and a vice principal of a high school in Biala Podlaska, but these are not your only responsibilities.

[Answer] I am also vice chairperson of the Municipal People's Council [MRN], chairperson of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Women's Commission, and chairperson of the Voivodship Deputies' Group. I also have other responsibilities related to my position as a Sejm deputy. I have always combined professional work with social service. But the very teaching profession includes social service and does not allow for a sedentary life.

[Question] You have actively participated in two Sejm committees: the Education and Upbringing Committee and the Health and Physical Culture Committee. You also participate in ad hoc subcommittees and commissions.

[Answer] Yes. Every session is preceded by deputies' visits to selected institutions in several voivodships. After we acquaint ourselves with all materials from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sport [GKKFiS] or the Main Committee for Tourism [GKT], we hold subcommittee meetings. Only then does an issue go under discussion at a plenary session of an appropriate committee. When I was telling my students about my work as a Sejm deputy, they asked me why we usually agree on issues under discussion at the Sejm. It was only after I explained to them that it takes us a lot of time and effort to achieve the consensus and work out every detail that they understood how we operate.

[Question] Now your responsibility is even greater because, among other reasons, there is no other instrument of social control in operation, since the trade unions have been suspended...

[Answer] We talked about it recently at a committee session. Trade unions' representatives always participated in our sessions. Now, since the trade unions have been suspended, we cannot overlook the importance of consulting with society. The consultations would have been more comprehensive, had the

ministry conveyed to us views of the teachers' community through its own channels. We must know whether our decisions correspond to the expectations of the broadly understood school system.

[Question] You work daily with the Ministry of Education.

[Answer] This is necessary and indispensable. We often debate, we do not always agree. We reach a mutual consensus, but there are situations when each of the parties insists on its own stand. Only time can verify the legitimacy of our stands. Our interaction requires a great deal of objectivity and mutual respect. Sometimes we also need distance from certain problems in order to be able to see them in their proper light. Our cooperation has one major goal, that is, to solve the problems of the entire school system the best we can.

[Question] Undoubtedly, this year's most important event for the entire teaching community has been the passing of the Teacher's Charter by the Sejm. You were the deputy who has presented the charter.

[Answer] This is truly a charter which the entire teaching community has been waiting for. We held many meetings where teachers from city schools and small village schools expressed their views. All the time, we had in mind that it was necessary to bring back respect for the teaching profession. To be sure, the charter itself will not take care of it, if there is no effort by the entire community. Teachers themselves must earn respect for their profession.

[Question] The commission continues its work on an executive bill to be included in the Teacher's Charter. Do you feel that the spirit and letter of the law have been preserved in the bill?

[Answer] When we added to the Teacher's Charter a statement about mandatory evaluations of executive directives by the Sejm committee, we pledged to retain the spirit of the law. We occasionally encounter opinions that the executive directives may somewhat change the meaning of certain formulations in the charter. We try to act against it. But we realize that their life is shorter than that of the law. Gradually, they will be subject to amendments.

[Question] The committee will soon discuss the effects of the 5-day work week on the school system.

[Answer] In a discussion about the shorter work week there is a clash between teachers and students. But they have one thing in common: neither the teachers nor the students want to give up the additional day off. To be sure, the day off is not a day of leisure for everyone. For example, in my school graduating class students spend Saturdays studying for their university entrance exams, going to libraries, or traveling to academic centers. Teachers spend the time chiefly doing household chores.

But the new schedule has definitely resulted in overloading students with school work. The high school where I teach has an expanded foreign-language

program. Therefore the students have 7 hours of classes almost every day. They expect, for example, their classroom instruction to be more intensive. At a Sejm committee meeting, we will carefully study social effects of free Saturdays at schools. After 1 year's experience, we must consult with parents, teachers, school physicians, and students. We must analyze all arguments for and against. We must choose the optimal solution in order to allow schools to carry on their programs, but at the same time we must protect students' right to rest, pursuit of hobbies, camping, travel to sports events, and so on. As a poll conducted in my high school indicates, students have not supported the idea of holding scout meetings, meetings of caass government, or even meetings of hobby groups on free Saturdays.

[Question] Young people have always been the focus of the Sejm Education and Upbringing Committee. And today this concern is especially crucial. I know that at one of the forthcoming sessions you are planning to introduce the subject of patriotic upbringing of young people.

[Answer] This is probably one of the most important problems. I have read very carefully all statements from a recent plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, devoted to the problems of youth. We realize that only a sincere, honest, and serious dialogue with the young people can produce expected results. We must also find some forum so that the Sejm committee's position on this matter may actually be heard.

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CSO: 2600/881

ECONOMIC CRISIS, DISTURBANCES WORRY USSR, REGIME

Paris LE MATIN in French 4 Sep 82 p 10

[Article by Bernard Poulet: "Ubu-carest or the Ceausescu System in a Crisis"]

[Text] Economic crisis and revolt are getting the USSR and the Romanian Communist Party apparatus worried.

The "Ceausescu system" has become a form of absolute control of the government by one family. The president's "clan" controls all the wheels of state and party. This has enabled Nicolae Ceausescu to rule his country with an iron hand for many years. But economic disaster has begun to reveal the weaknesses of the machinery. As it threatens the family, discontent is also endangering the whole regime. Moscow has already taken advantage of it and the famous "Romanian independence" appears much battered.

He was young, French and a communist. At the time, he lived in Romania. He grew older, came back to Paris, still French, but determinedly anticommunist. Why?

Because, he says, one day he attended a meeting in the small Moldavian town where he lived. A great rally on the occasion of President Ceausescu's visit. Among the crowd assembled under the presidential balcony, he was surprised to notice that people were not paying attention to the prestigious guest. They were talking and working as in a railroad station hall. And yet, whenever the first secretary finished one of his long sentences, enthusiastic "hurrahs" were raised. Not from the indifferent crowd, but from loudspeakers placed around the square. That was the first step in his abjuration.

The dissident writer Paul Goma affirms that for a long time one of his friends earned a comfortable living in the "applause business." In other words, in the regime's claque: his job, and that of a few hundred of his colleagues, consisted in rushing enthusiastically toward the Chief of State whenever he came by, or in waving flags and shouting viva whenever a foreign visitor came to Bucarest.

It would be hard to believe, were it not that his anecdotes are illustrated by official literature. The Ceausescian hagiography has become so overabundant that you could drown in it. One example tells it all. For instance, Critian Popisteanu's definitive statement in the April 1980 issue of the HISTORICAL REVIEW. "We can say that, in our country, not only the workers, but the mountains, the plains, the flowers as well are the devoted friends of President Nicolae Ceausescu." Such an outlay is the rule, not the exception.

At the last congress of the Communist Party, in November 1979, the audience kept giving ovations to the "famous patriot," "ardent revolutionist," "one of the prominent personalities in today's world" who, of course, was unanimously reelected. The year before, on an official visit to Great-Britain, Nicolae Ceausescu had demanded to reside in Buckingham Palace and had been led along London's "royal way" in a gilded carriage. No wonder then if some Romanians state that Ceausescu reigns over Ubu-carest.

He has often been said to be an anachronistic survival from the best years of Stalin's era. However, if a whole anthology of eulogies was also written for the father of the people, Joseph Stalin never ambitioned to found a dynasty.

And this is what it is all about in communist Romania. As years went by, the Ceausescu clan completely invested the government. First of all, his wife Elena, first vice-prime minister, member of the Communist Party leadership, and truly the number two of the regime. In 1979, for her birthday--it was assumed she was 60, for the press gallantly abstained from all precisions--she too received a fireworks of compliments. This "mother in the noblest meaning of the word" became a "structure of transparent petals." An academician and a doctor in engineering (she is a chemical engineer), she is, we are told, endowed "with an unwavering and watchful love, like a candle illuminating the times."

Her elder son, Nicu, 29 and of course a communist youth leader, is now a deputy member of the central committee and secretary of the Great National Assembly. Her other son, Valentin, is a "high official" at the Maghurele nuclear center.

One of the president's brothers, Ilie, is a general. Another, Ion, has been vice-minister of Agriculture since 1972. Three others have been given lesser sinecures. On Elena's side, we note that, although her brother-in-law Ilie Verdet lost his job as prime minister during the last purge, her brother, Gheorghe Petrescu, and her sister, Alexandrina Gainuse, have become members of the Communist Party executive organ.

Among the 57 members of the new government, those of the central committee and of the country's various leading institutions, there is an endless number of nephews, cousins and other relatives of the leading couple. "What is the difference between the Ceausescu dynasty and the others?" jokers ask in Bucharest. "The others reign one generation at a time. Here, all Ceausescu's reign at the same time." Saul Bellow, Nobel literature prize, could not believe what he saw and just brought back from Romania a vengeful book where Ceausescu is referred to only as "the dictator."

And it is true that if you look around you when you walk on the streets of any Romanian city, you soon notice the presence of especially unpleasant-looking individuals, who usually go in pairs: Securitate agents. They are the true scepter of the regime. A political police ready to strike no matter where. The traveller also notices that Romanians avoid talking to foreigners, much more so than in other socialist countries. Quite simply because each conversation with a visitor must be reported to Securitate.

And yet, in spite of its apparently absolute grip on the government and on the country, the "Ceausescu clan" is starting to worry. It is crippled by the scope of the economic disaster. Maybe much more so than Poland, Romania has been destabilized by the shock wave of international crisis. Here too, large economic projects had been designed and collapsed. Michel Jobert could notice it last July, when he visited the Olcit plant built by a joint French-Romanian company. The French partner, Citroen, has already lost 2 billion francs. The plant construction is 2 years behind schedule. For the visit of the French minister of Foreign Trade, the Romanians operated the lines at reduced speed. It was as if Sleeping Beauty's castle had woken up for a short while. Obviously, the plant is still not in operation: you could just look at the workers' clean hands and spotless overalls to understand that they were there quite exceptionally. We had never seen such a clean plant: not a speck of dust, even under the machines that would make the most dirt. And yet, a few years ago, this plant was presented as one of the great successes of Romanian socialism.

The gigantic Navodari refinery was designed to process 30-35 million tons of imported oil: the oil crisis, further aggravated by the fall of the chah-- a great friend of Ceausescu's--paralyzed this large complex.

Worse still, agriculture, this endemic disease of socialist countries, is dying here. The markets are so poorly supplied that earlier this year Ceausescu saw it fit to lecture his good people on dietetics. He found the cause for the food shortages: the Romanians eat too much.

But he may not have been convincing enough for, in the past few months, there have been reports of trucks loaded with foodstuffs being attacked by hungry villagers. In the conductor's entourage, some must recall that 30,000 mine-workers went on strike in 1977. That, last fall, Ceausescu almost got stoned by angry workers in the Motru valley. How much longer will Securitate manage to stifle these revolts?

Of course, there is no chance that a movement comparable to Solidarity could emerge in Romania. If Nicolae Ceausescu's power is threatened, danger can come from only two sides: from the USSR or from within the Romanian Communist Party. Since the invasion of Afghanistan, and especially since the Polish crisis, Bucarest has much reduced its claims of national independence. President Ceausescu was not the last one to condemn the "counterrevolutionary intrigues" in Poland. Too much indebted in the West, Romania is progressively reintegrating the Soviet sphere of influence.

Almost nothing is known of what happens within the Romanian party. Compromised with the man in power, submissive for many years, the Communist Party apparatus and even the Securitate apparatus may still have to get tired of the reigning family. The first cracks--the Tanase case being only the most spectacular--have already been heard. The apparatus fears that the Ceausescu clan will lead it to disaster as a whole. It fears riots which might bring about a blood bath.

But the "living torch" who has been shining for 17 years has already demonstrated on several occasions that he was not easy to put out. A megalomaniac, certainly; but Nicolae Ceausescu is also a cunning leader and many disenchanted Romanians expect to see him bounce back once again as if by miracle. Even if all recognize that the atmosphere now prevailing in Ubu-carest would indicate that his reign is drawing to a close.

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CSO: 31000/950

ROMANIA

DATA ON CENTRAL LIBRARY OF MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

Bucharest VIATA MILITARA in Romanian Jun 82 pp 8,9

[Interview with Col Marius Andone, director of the Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense, by Nicolae Dumbrava, "A Source of Thoughts and Feelings;" date and place not specified]

[Text] The military libraries in our army have a long tradition. As can be noted in a history of these cultural institutes, the first military library was established in Moldavia in 1845 and in Muntenia in 1852. On the occasion of the creation of the first military library, Dimitrie Sturdza, commanding inspector general of the army in Moldavia, pointed out that "we have created a library with the most useful books by the most renown authors..."

After the unification of the principalities, at the time of the creation of a single ministry of war, the two libraries were merged, thus creating the Library of the Ministry of War which, in 1860, was allocated 40,000 lei to "purchase books and journals."

The first regimental library dates back to 1865. We are talking about the library of the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Craiova. Over time, the military libraries increased in number. Libraries were created in other units, military schools and military circles. ROMANIA MILITARA points out that in 1897 there were 97 libraries in our army. Among the books in these libraries, in addition to specific military literature, there were books on patriotic education, history, geography, science and so forth.

The true flowering of these cultural institutes in our army was to take place during the years of socialist revolution and construction, during the process of creating our people's army. Under the care of the party, the libraries existing throughout our army each year experience an increase in the number of volumes, with the book currently being an inseparable friend of the soldier. The Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense is foremost among these libraries.

[Question] The Central Library of the Ministry of National Defense [MOD] is currently the largest and best equipped library within the framework of our ministry. I would ask that you tell us, comrade colonel, how many books are there and what kind are they?

[Answer] Yes, the Central Library of the MOD is the best equipped library within the network of our ministry and the largest library of its type in the country. The number of books is over 200,000 volumes, representing approximately 100,000 titles. A priority place in the institute is given to the party documents and the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the supreme commander of our armed forces, as well as to other volumes of social-political literature that are absolutely necessary in the multilateral creation of the new man. The books in the library contain a very important and rich section of a military nature, including works regarding military history, equipment, psycho-pedagogy and, naturally, military doctrine. These books are by Romanian and foreign authors. We have a number of reference books including the principal encyclopedias, dictionaries, atlases and so forth that have appeared in the world during various times. In addition to these specialized books, readers can find in our library numerous literary works that cover the entire history of Romanian literature, as well as the main works of world literature.

[Question] The enlarged plenary session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee at the beginning of June, a plenary session marked by the historical speech by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the president of the republic and the supreme commander of the armed forces, places especially important tasks before all the activities in our country, showing, at the same time, the paths for the evolution of our future in an area so complex and broad in the creation of socialist awareness. What is the library doing in its area of activity to implement the ideas of such high theoretical and practical value contained in this truly programmatic document of exceptional significance, as represented by the magnificent speech by the secretary general of the party?

[Answer] On the basis of the study of this shining speech and the mastery of the entire store of ideas regarding theoretical and ideological problems and political-educational activities, seen in a close connection with the new progress in creating a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism - problems that will be the subject of the theses that are to be discussed at the National Conference of the party, our institute has drawn up a broad plan of activities. We see that the library, using different means that are specific to its nature, makes its more substantial contribution to the work of communist, revolutionary and patriotic education and to the creation of the new man. In this regard, we are placing greater stress on the popularization of those books and works that reflect the great achievements of socialist Romania.

We are giving special attention to the popularization of those books that reflect the centuries-long history of the Romanian people and their struggle

for the affirmation of their own existence, for social and national freedom and for independence and unity, starting with the principle emphasized with such conviction by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that this understanding constitutes one of the fundamental ideological activities of the socialist, patriotic education of all the workers. In this context, we can also note more clearly our military doctrine, according to which the defense of the country, our national independence and the advances of socialism constitute the cause and work of all the people. We propose to more actively support scientific research efforts in the army. These are merely some of the facets of our work.

[Question] We know that the library also has a "special collection of books," of rare items. What are these books and how do they reflect the history of our people?

[Answer] Being an institute of a rich and long tradition, existing for over 100 years, it is natural that our collection would have a series of special works. First of all, I would mention those that appeared several centuries ago, such as: "De originae et rebus gestis Polonorum" by Martin Kromer, which came out in 1555, with many references to the rule of Stefan the Great; "Teatrum Europaeum," in nine volumes of the 12 that appeared, plus one that came out during the period 1662-1918 that is a history dealing with the main events in Europe that occurred during that period, including those regarding Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania; an issue from 1729 in Venice of "Analelor" [The Annals] by the Byzantine historian Ioan Zonara, with a very rich description of the Daco-Roman wars, and so forth. In addition to these, I could add several Romanian works that are important for us: the first Romanian military regulations dating from 1831; an 1835 publication from Iasi of "Hronicul romano-moldo-vlahilor" [Chronicle of the Roman-Moldavian-Vlahs] by Dimitrie Cantemir; an 1843 publication of "Invataturilor lui Neagoe Basarab catre fiul sau Teodosiu" [Neagoe Basarab's Teachings to His Son Teodosiu]; the five volumes of MAGAZIN ISTORIC PENTRU DACIA [The Historical Review for Dacia], written by Nicolae Balcescu and August Treboniu Laurian between 1845 and 1846, and many others.

[Question] A natural question: who does the library target and to what degree does it contribute to the creation of the socialist awareness of its readers?

[Answer] Our institute is open to all military personnel in the Bucharest garrison, reserve officers and civilian workers, as well as other categories of specialists whose work deals with problems regarding national defense or the history of the Romanian people. By making available this rich store of social-political literature, and especially the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our supreme commander, a treasure of revolutionary thought and practice, our institute actively participates in the complex educational process that is taking place in the army, especially in the political-ideological training of personnel, thus contributing to the creation of socialist awareness of the officers in the garrison and to the effort to qualitatively improve activities in the army. At the same time, an important facet of our work

involves supporting those actions organized for the understanding and mastery of our military doctrine: the basic requirement of the specialized culture for the personnel in our army. As I have already said, the library is a traditional institute of the Romanian army, an institute that we are proud of. In addition to these activities, I would also like to stress the fact that it maintains close ties with many cultural institutes outside the army, making available to them, upon request, specific documentary materials that exist in our libraries.

[Question] To what degree does the library contribute to the activities of the libraries in the units?

[Answer] This seems to me to be a natural question. I can state that by virtue of its charter the Central Library of the MOD also constitutes a systematic center for the libraries in our ministry's network. We assist the political councils, offering methodical assistance in our specialty to all military libraries, pursuing the integration of these institutes in the spiritual life of the army, the support of the combat and political training of permanent personnel and draftees and the development of their general culture; in other words, an active and necessary presence in the educational process in the army.

[Question] We know that the library has a much broader area of concerns. In this context, we ask you to tell us, for our readers, what other activities does the library carry out outside of the normal offer of books?

[Answer] I thought that it was already understood from what had been said that our institute carries out a sufficiently broad range of activities. We could again point out the rich bibliographic materials as seen in the three volumes of "Bibliografia militara romanesti" [The Romanian Military Bibliography], published in 1975, which refers to the Romanian military books and periodicals that appeared during the period 1831-1974; the twice yearly publication of a bibliographic bulletin that contains current acquisitions of social-political and military books; the annual publication of a catalogue of existing periodicals in the library and those works that are recommended for acquisition by the libraries in the army; the quarterly publication of a list of military books in the special collection; the publication of certain bibliographies regarding important moments in the military history of our country, an inseparable facet of our country's history; and the publication of methodical materials, as well as "Manualul bibliotecarului din armata" [The Librarian's Manual in the Army] (1975). The second edition of this work, revised and expanded, is in an advanced stage of publication, and so forth. In the catalogue room or in the "25 October" room we are organizing different book exhibits on various themes, hoping in this manner to bring about a greater demand for publications. I can mention that last year the institute was visited by 70,895 readers who consulted 338,282 publications.

[Question] We would like for you to tell us, in a few words, how the library helps scientific research in the army?

[Answer] One requirement of the supreme commander's Directive is, as is known, the intensification of scientific research in the army. Our institute is integrated into this process by way of making available to researchers our specialized literature. To this end, we offer researchers our own publications, as well as those of other libraries in our country or from abroad, that have been obtained by our institute through an active inter-library exchange program. We carefully follow the publications that come out and notify the appropriate people through our specific means of aspects that are of interest to their research. From this point of view, there is a permanent dialogue between us and our users.

[Question] What are the library's ties with foreign entities and how does it contribute to the understanding of the Romanian people's history and the military doctrine of socialist Romania beyond its borders?

[Answer] Through the intense exchange of publications with 95 similar institutes and periodical staffs in 25 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, we have pursued and we will continue to pursue the spread of the understanding of Romanian military books throughout the world, to popularize our military doctrine and to contribute to the understanding of it in the broadest possible circles. And, by introducing certain Romanian military works into the International Bibliography of Military History, published annually at Bern under the aegis of the Bibliography Committee of the International Commission of Military History, to which we belong, we merely wish to contribute with our own specific means to the implementation of certain very important provisions in our party documents regarding popularizing abroad the most important moments in the history of our people and socialist Romania's domestic and foreign policies. In closing, I would like to mention that for future activities the Central Library of the MOD has a broad path for carrying out our tasks, as noted with high scientific foresight in the shining speech by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the RCP Central Committee that took place at the beginning of June, along the lines of creating the new man, the hopeful defender, together with all the people, of the revolutionary advances of socialist Romania.

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